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NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE *IGOR' TALE*

RICCARDO PICCHIO

1. In previous articles I have discussed the particular rhythmic-syntactic patterns that characterize many texts of Orthodox Slavic literature. According to these patterns, logical and syntactic units are grouped in series of rhythmically marked cola with an equal number of stresses. The regular occurrence of such features is so widespread that we can speak of a general *isocolic principle* governing literary productivity from the Balkans to the East Slavic lands until the eighteenth century. This clear isocolic structure characterizes the *Igor' Tale*, as well. It may have been produced either by the work's original author or by a scribe (or scribes) who worked on the text, as we know it, as an editor or compiler.[1]

From the formal point of view, the presence of these characteristics clearly places the *Igor' Tale* within the literary norm of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom (*Slavia Orthodoxa*). In particular, the presence of isocolic

[1] See my articles: "On the Prosodic Structures of the Igor' Tale," *Slavic and East European Journal* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1972): 147–62; "The Isocolic Principle in Old Russian Prose," in *Slavic Poetics: Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky* (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. 299–331; "Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom," in *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavicists*, vol. 2 (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. 439–67; "Isocolic Constructions in Old Serbian Prose," in *Xenia Slavica in Honor of Gojko Ružičić* (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. 149–61; "Strutture isocoliche e poesia slava medievale," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 17 (1972): 419–31; "Sulla struttura prosodica di una pagina romana di Gogol'," *Strumenti Critici* 20 (1973): 101–116; "Su alcune analogie fra la tecnica scrittoria del Petrarca e gli stili della letteratura balcanica nel XIV secolo," in *Petrarca i Petrarkizam u slavenskim zemljama* (Zagreb and Dubrovnik, 1978), pp. 411–24. The impact of isocolic models on the style of Glagolitic literature has been studied by E. Hercigonja in his book *Srednjovjekovna književnost*, Povijest hrvatske književnosti, vol. 2 (Zagreb, 1976). The isocolic structures in Old Rus'ian literature and their significance for textual criticism have been studied especially by M. Colucci and A. Danti in their critical edition, *Daniil Zatočnik: Slovo e Molenie*, Studia Historica et Philologica, vol. 2 (Florence, 1977); see also M. Colucci, "Le strutture prosodiche dello 'Slovo Daniila Zatočnika,'" *Ricerche Slavistiche* 20–21 (1973–1974): 83–124; M. Colucci, "E' possibile una constitutio textus della 'Zadonščina'?," *Spicilegio moderno* 7 (1977): 36–62; M. Ziolkowski, "The Discourse on Dmitrij Ivanovič Donskoj" (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1978).

structures in both the *Igor' Tale* and the sections of the Hypatian and Laurentian chronicles dealing with the campaign of Igor' Svjatoslavič in 1185 facilitates the comparative study of these works.

The adherence of the *Igor' Tale* to the isocolic principle provides internal clues to the syntactic structure of the text. Besides offering a kind of rhythmic-syntactic "grid" that displays the text's segmentation, the isocolic distribution may also help the reader recognize signals of different kinds, such as the alliterative or rhyming markers in the following examples:

2* A poganago / Kobjaka
2 izъ luku / morja,
2 otъ želěznyxъ / velikixъ
2 plъkovъ / Poloveckixъ,
2 jako vixrъ / vytorže.
2 I padesja / Kobjakъ
2 vъ gradě / Kievě,
2 vъ gridnicě / Svjatъslavli. . . .

Here the distribution of minimal rhythmic-syntactic segments in a series of two-stress cola is marked by an elaborate system of signals. Otherwise, the phrase's segmentation would have been better expressed by a different isocolic scansion. The first four cola, for example, could be read as two cola of four stresses each. In fact, most medieval texts contain series of long cola (up to seven stressed word-units in the *Igor' Tale*) which often correspond to full clauses.

The sound signals in this series, however, display a particular organization of marked pauses. The signals (with rhyme value) are ranged concentrically. "*Kobjaka-Kobjakъ*" marks the sound-and-meaning boundaries of the first phrase, which stretches beyond the grammatical limits of the first sentence to include the subject ("Kobjakъ") of the second. The sound pair "m*or*ja–vyt*or*že" marks a second rhyming line, whereas the rhyming kernel of the whole phrase is represented by the central couplet (". . . veli*kixъ* – . . . Polovec*kixъ*"). The unity of the conclusive dicolon, on the other hand, is marked by a sound iteration which does not occur at the cola's end, but at its beginning: "*vъ gr*adě Kievě – *vъ gr*idnicě Svjatoslavli."

Sound signals can also mark the functional individuality of the cola by establishing particular sound connections in the body of each colon, that is, without interfering with the parallelistic system of correspondences

* *Numerals refer to the number of stressed units in each colon.*

3 sěrymъ / vъlkomъ / po zemli,
3 šizymъ / orlomъ / podъ oblaky. . . .

The known variants (in P, P_2, E, K, M)[3] are of a purely graphic nature, with one exception: P and P_2 read "načati že sja tъj pěsni," whereas E has "načatižesjatъ pěsni."[4] The uncertainty of the first editors of the late eighteenth century about these words indicates that they had particular difficulty reading this section of the codex, and that this difficulty resulted in conjectural graphic renderings and interpretations.

According to the current interpretation, the exordium may be divided into three sentences: (1) an initial sentence containing a rhetorical question ("Is it not fitting to begin [this composition] with the ancient words of the difficult tales concerning the raid of Igor' Svjatoslavič?"); (2) a second sentence containing the response to this rhetorical interrogation ("Then begin this *song* according to the 'truths' of this age and not according to Bojan's fancy"); (3) a sentence which explains the rhetorical comparison in the response ("Bojan's fancy" refers to the peculiar mental activities in which the "seer" engaged when he undertook to compose a *song*).

Despite the penetrating explanations of critics and editors,[5] the impression remains that in the first sentence (the rhetorical question) the direct object governed by "to begin (načjati)" is missing. In resolving this grammatical problem, we might posit that "to begin" was used intransitively precisely to indicate the indeterminateness of its object, or we might attribute the accusative function to "trudnyxъ pověstii." The expression "načati že tъj pěsni" is usually interpreted as a hortatory imperative in

[3] *Slovo,* p. 43.
[4] *Slovo,* p. 45.
[5] For detailed surveys of the most popular opinions on the text of the *Igor' Tale* see: *Slovo,* pp. 463–529; V. P. Adrianova-Peretc, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve" i pamjatniki russkoj literatury XI–XIII vekov* (Leningrad, 1968); V. L. Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik "Slova o polku Igoreve,"* 4 vols. (Leningrad, 1965–74); T. Čizevska, *Glossary of the Igor' Tale* (The Hague, 1966); S. Wollman, *Slovo o polku Igorevě jako umělecké dílo,* Rozpravy Československé Akademie Věd, vol. 68, no. 10 (Prague, 1958); F. M. Golovenčenko, *Slovo o polku Igorevě: Istoriko-literaturnyj i bibliografičeskij očerk* (Moscow, 1955). Among the older critical surveys see, in particular, E. V. Barsov, *Slovo o polku Igorevě kak xudožestvennyj pamjatnik Kievskoj družinnoj Rusi,* 3 vols. (Moscow, 1887–89); and V. N. Peretc, *K izučeniju "Slova o polku Igorevě"* (Leningrad, 1926). The essence of the main critical debates is presented and discussed by R. Jakobson, *Selected Writings,* vol. 4: *Slavic Epic Studies* (The Hague and Paris, 1966). See also H. R. Cooper, Jr., *The Igor' Tale: An Annotated Bibliography of 20th-century Non-Soviet Scholarship on the "Slovo o polku Igorevě"* (London, 1978), with the appendix "Roman Jakobson's Fifth Reconstruction of the Slovo o polku Igorevě." Among the many annotated translations of the tale, that of A. Obręska-Jabłońska, *Słowo o wyprawie Igora* (Warsaw, 1954), is particularly useful. It contains a photo-reproduction of the *Editio Princeps.*

that characterizes the isocolic structure as such. The following passage of the *Igor' Tale* is an example of this type of sound-marking:

2 Tu Němci / i Venedici,
2 tu Greci / i Morava

3 pojutъ / slavu / Svjatъslavlju,
3 kajutъ / knjazja / Igorja,
3 iže / pogruzi / žirъ

2 vo dně / Kajaly,
2 rěky / Poloveckija. . . .

Here sound cross-signals based on iteration and alliteration mark the unity of each of the first five cola: "Něm*ci* . . . Venedi*ci*; G*re*ci . . . Mo*ra*va; *slav*u . . . Svjatъ*slav*lju; *k*ajutъ . . . *k*njazja; *iž*e pogru*zi* *ži*rъ." The functional individuality of the conclusive dicolon is, instead, marked by sound cross-signals that link the two cola to each other through a sort of rhyme-enjambment: "dn*ě* Kajal*ý*— r*ě*k*ý*. . . ."

These examples indicate that the isocolic interpretation of Orthodox Slavic texts can be of great interest to textual criticism. When the text's segmentation is marked by the isocolic grid as well as by auxiliary sound signals, interpretation becomes easier. For this reason, I will give isocolic readings of the passages from the *Igor' Tale* that I propose to discuss. The following remarks on the text of the *Igor' Tale* are part of a study which I have undertaken in preparing a new edition of the work. The edition will be published in cooperation with Angiolo Danti of the University of Florence.

2. The exordium of the *Igor' Tale* can be scanned in the following way:[2]

4 Ne lěpo li / ny bjašetъ, / bratie, / načjati
4 starymi / slovesy / trudnyxъ / pověstii
4 o pъlku / Igorevě, / Igorja / Svjatъslavliča?

3 Načati že *sja* / *tъj* / *pěsni*
3 po bylinamъ / sego / vremeni,
3 a ne / po zamyšleniju / Bojanju!

2 Bojanъ bo / věščij,
3 ašče / komu / xotjaše
2 pěsnь / tvoriti,
3 to rastěkašetsja / mysliju / po drevu:

[2] According to the text published in L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Lixačev, eds., *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (hereafter *Slovo*), 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1967), pp. 43–56, Russian translation, pp. 57–66.

which the impersonal form of the reflexive verb takes the noun ("this song") in the *dativus commodi.* We would, however, need a different interpretation if the conjectural reading "načati že sja tъj pěsni" were not confirmed and the missing accusative were otherwise identified through a more convincing reading.

Relying on paleographic indications and taking the meaning into consideration, we could read:

3 načati že / *siju* / *pověstь*
3 po bylinamъ / sego / vremeni. . . .

Paleographically, the confusion between *sja* and *siju* is certainly possible. It might even originate from the period to which the *codex unicus* of the *Igor' Tale* has been tentatively dated — that is, from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It was then that the graphic ligature *i + malyj jus* (graphic *ję* representing the sound *ja*) fell into disuse, and this fact might have created some confusion among the scribes of later generations.

If we consider that the codex was probably written in *continua* (a method of writing in which the separation of words is not marked) and that after *sja* / *siju* an abbreviated form might have occurred, it is reasonable to assume that the first editors read *tьpěsni* for what should have been understood as *pověstь*. This error would imply a confusion between Cyrillic *tь* and *po,* between *pěs* and *věs,* and between *ni* and *tь.* Because *s* or the whole final graphic cluster could occur in abbreviation, the distinguishing paleographic element would appear to be *pě* / *vě.* The indirect indications that we have concerning the dating and the paleographic characteristics of the codex make this confusion between *p* and *v* very likely. The two graphs, in fact, could acquire a very similar shape, with only the lower stroke of the Cyrillic square letter for *v* functioning as a distinctive element in opposition to the corresponding square letter for *p*.[6]

The possibility that the codex contained a group of signs decipherable as both *pěsnь* and *pověstь* does not, however, constitute a sufficiently convincing argument in favor of the reading that I propose. This reading must be confirmed within the context of the *Igor' Tale*'s exordium.

The exordium of the *Igor' Tale* contains a programmatic opposition between the *historical manner* and the *fantastic* (*poetic*) *manner.* The his-

[6] This confusion was not possible before the introduction of the "square *v*" into the East-Slavic writing practice in the fifteenth century. Cf. the reproduction of Cyrillic graphs in V. A. Petrova, *Paleografičeskij al'bom: Učebnyj sbornik snimkov s rukopisej russkix dokumentov XIII–XVIII vv.* (Leningrad, 1968).

torical manner seems clearly identified with "the ancient words of the difficult *pověsti,*" which are definite *truths,* that is, historical truths (*byliny*). The fantastic manner is identified with the manner used by the seer Bojan to compose a *pěsnь*. This response to the rhetorical question of whether to employ the style of "the difficult *pověsti*" or the style of the ancient *pěsnь* of Bojan is confirmed again at the point where the direct narrative actually begins, with the following words:[7]

4 Počnemъ že / bratie / pověstь / siju
4 otъ starago / Vladimera / do nyněšnjago / Igorja. . . .

If we now quote the beginning of the *Igor' Tale* according to my suggestion, it reads:

4 Ne lěpo li / ny bjašetъ / bratie / načjati
4 — starymi / slověsy / trudnyxъ / pověstii
4 o pъlku / Igorevě, / Igorja / Svjatъslavliča —
3 načati že / *siju / pověstь*
3 po bylinamъ / sego / vremeni,
3 a ne / po zamyšleniju / Bojanju? . . . .

In this reading we can join together the two sections governed by *to begin* (". . . bratie, *načjati . . . načati že . . .*") by interpreting the second *to begin* (*načjati že*) as a rhetorical repetition within a single, rhetorically interrogative sentence.

The logical (and stylistic) parallel with "*počnem že, bratie, pověstь siju,*" which follows the conclusion of the exordium, now becomes evident. By paraphrasing the whole beginning of the composition we can understand the dominant meaning, thus: (a) it is proper to relate *this pověstь* to the historical manner of the ancient *pověsti*; (b) we ought to

[7] The opposite opinion, unacceptable to me, according to which the primary intent of the *Igor' Tale*'s author was to produce a *song* patterned after Bojan's primeval poetry, was already well established in the nineteenth century. Barsov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve,* vol. 2, believed that "avtor čuvstvuet sebja kak by bezsil'nym stojat' na vysotě starago vremeni." Because of this sort of poetic inferiority complex, in Barsov's opinion, "ego 'Slovo' byv sotkano na osnově 'Staryx Sloves' dolžno ustupit' im v oblasti tvorčeskago materiala, v širotě tvorčeskix priemov, v kačestve tvorčeskix sozdanij, podčinjajas' novym trebovanjam istoričeskogo pověstvovanija. V ètom imenno smyslě, avtor v samom načalě naimenovav 'Slovo' svoe *pěsniju,* zatěm, perexodja k samomu pověstvovaniju, nazyvaet ego uže *pověstiju:* 'Načnem že, govorit, *pověstь* siju.'" These remarks, in my opinion, are typical of a dominant trend in Russian literary criticism and cultural history. Most scholars were more interested in interpreting the *Igor' Tale*'s reference to an old literature composed "starymi slovesy" (which would represent the equivalent of Slavic "classical models" imitated by really "medieval" Slavic poets) than in establishing the actual functional meaning of this expression within the context of the *Igor' Tale*'s rhetorical exordium.

distinguish this mode of narration from the fantastic manner expressed by Bojan's *pěsnь*; (c) in concrete historical terms, this *pověstь* refers to the period extending from the "ancient Vladimir" to Igor' Svjatoslavič.

I do not believe that this interpretation is effectively refuted by the common observations that (1) the narrative does not always adhere to the historical manner (although Bojan's fancy consistently functions as a reference to a style different from that of the narrator), and that (2) the following passage occurs at the end of the *Igor' Tale*:

4 pěvše / pěsnь / starymъ / knjazemъ,
3 a potomъ / molodymъ / pěti:
3 slava / Igorju / Svjatъslaviča,
4 Bui Turu / Vsevolodě, / Vladimiru / Igoreviču!

Apart from any consideration of the particular narrative context in which this final "song" is located ("pěvše pěsnь" may refer to the final scene of the "Pověstь o pъlku Igorevě," rather than to the general characterization of the composition), the fact remains that the reading proposed above is confirmed and justified within the logical, stylistic, and compositional context of the exordium and not apart from it. If the exordium has an autonomous function, it seems to me that only by accepting the reading "načati že *siju pověstь*" as analogous to the words that later follow, "počnemъ že bratie pověstь siju," is it possible to comprehend the true significance of the initial rhetorical inquiry.

3. As noted above, the phrase beginning with the words "Počnemъ že, bratie, pověstь siju [Let us then begin, brethren, this story (pověstь)]" is important because it marks the switch from the rhetorical exordium to the actual narrative. I propose the following reading:

4 Počnemъ že / bratie / pověstь / siju
4 otъ starago / Vladimira / do nyněšnjago / Igorja
4 iže istjagnu / umь / krěpostiju / svoeju
3 i poostri / serdca / svoego:
4 mužestvomъ / naplъnivsja / ratnago / duxa,
3 navede / svoja / xrabryja / plъky
4 na zemlju / Polověcьkuju / za zemlju / Rusьkuju. . . .

This reading differs from the generally accepted one in that it interprets the instrumental form "mužestvomъ" as related to "naplъnivsja" and "ratnago duxa."[8] My translation is: "Let us then begin, brethren, this

[8] Cf., for example, *Slovo*, p. 44. Also see *La Geste du Prince Igor': Épopée russe du douzième siècle. . .* , ed. by H. Grégoire, R. Jakobson, and M. Szeftel, Annuaire de

story from Vladimir of old to Igor' of our day, who lifted up his spirit with his hardiness and made his heart obstinate: filled with the boldness of the warlike spirit, he led his brave hosts to the Polovcian land, for the land of Rus'."

The main clue to the interpretation of the whole passage is offered by the narrator's definition of Igor' as the one "iže istjagnu umь krěpostiju svoeju i poostri serdca svoego." What has escaped the attention of previous investigators is that these words represent a crucial biblical citation. The Septuagint text of Deut. 2:30 reads: ὅτι ἐσκλήρυνε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατίσχυσε τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ("because the Lord our God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate"). The Slavic wording appears to be an almost literal translation of this biblical formula. I have taken the Greek text as a point of departure for my consideration because we do not know what the Slavic translation of these particular words was at the time when the lines were included in the *Igor' Tale*. It is fair to assume, however, that the Septuagint text served as a very authoritative source in the early period of Orthodox Slavic literature. The Vulgate has: "quia induraverat Dominus Deus tuus spiritum eius, et obfirmaverat cor illius." These words refer to "Sihon the king of Heshbon" who "would not let us [the Jewish people] pass by him." Sihon relied on his own strength and defied God's will. God let him be overwhelmed by his audacity, so that, as we read in the same passage of Deuteronomy, "he might give him into your [i.e., the Jewish people's] hands."

This biblical citation indicates that Igor' Svjatoslavič was overwhelmed by his own boldness to the point that he did not heed God's commandments. His warlike fury was similar to that of certain biblical men, like King Sihon, who were deprived of their wisdom because they did not obey the divine law. The sin of pride led to their self-destruction so that they might fall into enemy hands.

The larger study on the *Igor' Tale* that I am preparing with A. Danti states that this particular citation from Deut. 2:30 acts as a *thematic clue* which explains the general meaning of the entire text.[9] The *Igor' Tale*, I believe, is a sort of religious "exemplum" which shows that Igor' Svjato-

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l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, vol. 8 (New York, 1948), p. 38; English translation by S. H. Cross, p. 151: "and sharpened his hearth with valor." Also Adrianova-Peretc, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve,"* p. 57.

[9] See my article "The Function of Biblical Thematic Clues in the Literary Code of 'Slavia Orthodoxa,'" *Slavica Hierosolymitana: Slavic Studies of the Hebrew University* 1 (1977): 1–31.

slavič was given into his enemies' hands because of his "sin of pride," and was thereafter liberated from captivity because of his repentance — that is, because of his return to Christian humility.[10]

From the textual viewpoint it is important to underscore the syntactical autonomy of the words that contain the biblical citation. In the rendering of the citation in Slavic, special attention must be paid to the two verbal forms.

"*Istjagnu* umь krěpostiju svoeju" corresponds to the Greek ἐσκλή = ρυνε . . . τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ (literally, "*hardened* his spirit"). The idea of 'hardiness' (σκληρότης, that is, 'spiritual harshness' as implied by the form ἐσκλήρυνε)[11] is not expressed by the Slavic verb. It is conveyed, instead, by the related instrumental "krěpostiju svoeju." I think that this periphrastic solution is deliberate. Igor's spiritual "harshness" is the result of a *motus animi*, of an impulse which alters the harmony of his mind. This *motus*, apart from its source (i.e., Igor's "krěpost'"), is described by the verbal form "*is*tjagnu." The prefix *is*[z] (= out, ex-) modifies the basic range of meanings of "tjagnuti" to suggest a kind of "exaggeration," that is, a "heaping out," or "exceeding" of certain limits. Its opposite appears to be expressed by the prefix *vъz-* (= in-) as in "*vъs*tjagnuti," which means "to curb" or "to constrain" (*coartare, constringere*), as, for example, passions (cf. "něstь vamъ vъstjagnulъ gněva i poxoti," or in the reflexive form, "ot našixъ poxotii vъstjagnemъ sja" = "nos a nostris voluptatibus coarctamus").[12] "*Istjagnu* umь" therefore appears to mean the opposite of "animum cohartavit," or the equivalent of "animum *laxavit*": "he *loosened the ties* of (*lifted up*) his spirit." The explanation of "istjagnu . . . krěpostiju" as an interpretative periphrasis intended to clarify the full meaning of ἐσκλήρυνε can prove that the Slavic wording was the result of a thorough interpretation of the biblical text.

"*Poostri* serdca svoego" renders the Greek κατίσχυσε τὴν καρδίαν ἀυτοῦ with exegetical precision. "Poostri" suggests again the idea of "roughness" (cf. "ostrъ" = "*asper*" with reference to the "rough ways," i.e., τραχειᾶι, in Luke 3:5). But it conveys at the same time the idea of "brute

[10] See my preliminary presentation of this interpretation and its discussion in *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies held at Harvard University* 5 (1974–75): 20–22.

[11] Cf. the use of this verb, as both a transitive and an intransitive, in several texts as cited in Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik*, 2: 165–67. Cf., in particular, its occurrence in Psalm 138 (139) cited by Peretc, *K izučeniju "Slova,"* p. 58 (see also V. N. Peretc, *Slovo o Polku Ihorevim* [Kiev, 1926], p. 143). They all suggest the general idea of a "spiritual condition." As to the particular connotation of σκληρός, 'durus,' as "spiritually harsh" (*žestokyj*), cf. Barsov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 3: 259–60.

[12] *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (hereafter *Slovník*), vol. 1 (Prague, 1966), p. 342.

force" (ἰσχύς) which is also implied by the Greek term (cf. the use of *obfirmo*, in the sense of "to make obstinate," in the Vulgate).[13]

If, as I believe, it is proved that the two syntactic segments "iže istjagnu umь krěpostiju svoeju" and "i poostri serdca svoego" have a clearly marked function in this context, then a pause is needed after "svoego." The word "mužestvomъ," which does not belong to the biblical citation, must therefore belong to the sentence which follows the pause, that is, to the succeeding "colon." The colon reads: "mužestvomъ naplъnivsja ratnago duxa." My translation is: "filled with the boldness of the warlike spirit," or more literally, "having filled himself with the boldness (valor) of the spirit of war." The question arises whether "boldness of the warlike spirit" means anything special in this context. In my opinion one can answer this question affirmatively. "Ratnago duxa" semantically modifies "mužestvomъ" in a way that corresponds perfectly to the general message conveyed by the passage. The crucial point is not that a warrior was filled with "mužestvo" before engaging in battle: obviously, he was supposed to be brave. From the Christian viewpoint, however, he should not have been dominated by the "warlike spirit," that is, by his reliance on ἰσχύς as "brute force." As we read in a related passage of the Laurentian (Suzdal') Chronicle, boldness (*mužestvo*) and boasting (*veličanьe*), as well as fear, are in vain if the Christian warriors do not rely on God alone:

3 i veličanьja / svoego / otpadoša
3 ne vědušče / glagolemago / prorokomъ:
3 «něstь / čelověku / mudrosti,
2 ni estь / mužestva,
2 ni estь / dumy,
2 protivu / gospodevi». . . .[14]

[13] In turn, ἰσχύς represents a semantic field connected with the preceding term "krěpostь." Cf. Barsov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 3: 413. Examples of ἰσχύς as "brute force" appear in *A Greek-English Lexicon*, comp. by H. G. Liddel and R. Scott, new ed. by H. Stuard Jones (Oxford, 1940; reprinted 1961), p. 844.

[14] *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, 3rd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1897). Cf. N. K. Gudzij, *Xrestomatija po drevnej russkoj literature XI–XVII vekov*, 6th ed. (Moscow, 1955), p. 79. The citation is from Prov. 21:30–31: "There is no wisdom, there is no courage (ἀνδρεία), there is no counsel against the ungodly. A horse is prepared for the day of battle; but help is of the Lord." The Slavic text omits all the words from "ungodly" to "the Lord": "ni estь dumy [. . .] protivu Gospodevi." The omitted words are considered a kind of obvious "mental integration" left to the readers' meditation. This means that the spiritual meaning of the reference is focused on the "horse prepared for the day of battle." My citations from the Old Testament are based on *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament*, with an English translation by L. L. Brenton (London [s.a.]), and *The Oxford Annotated Bible*, rev. standard version (New York, 1962). The Vulgate is cited according to *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, 4th ed., by A.

The expression "mužestvom . . . ratnago duxa," therefore, clarifies the biblical quotation. Igor' Svjatoslavič was guilty of obeying the impulse of his "krěpostь." What completely dominated him was a type of "mužestvo" guided not by a pious "mudrostь," but by "duma" (i.e., pride) and "ratnyj duxъ." Heedful readers should have grasped the meaning of this biblical thematic clue. From the very beginning of the narrative they should have understood that Igor''s "plъkъ" was doomed to disaster because of the arrogant spirit in which it was conceived. Even the "non-Christian" wisdom of Bojan's fancy, in the text of the *Igor' Tale*, reminded them that "něstь . . . mudrosti . . . protivu Gospodevi" by conveying the same message in different words and to a different tune:

4 Tomu / věščej / Bojanъ / i prъvoe
3 pripěvku / smyslenyi / reče:
4 «ni xytru / ni gorazdu / ni pticju / gorazdu
3 suda / božija / ne minuti». . . .

To provide a complete explanation of this crucial passage, we must discuss one more problem. The biblical formula refers to Sihon, whose spirit and heart were "hardened" and "made obstinate" by God. Igor' Svjatoslavič, however, himself "hardens" and "makes obstinate" his spirit and heart. To explain this difference we might argue that if the writer's intention was to illustrate Igor''s sin, he had to emphasize Igor''s personal responsibility. Furthermore, we can consider the contextual function of the formula as related more to the general motif of the "hardened and stubborn heart" than to the particular example of Sihon, king of Heshbon, according to the wording of Deut. 2:30. This would establish a larger set of connections between the spirit of the thematic clue and its textual sources. Thematically, the semantic sphere of the citation would become wider. It would suggest a general biblical referent based even more on a typical example of the pharaoh's stubbornness and "hardened heart," especially as described in Exodus, than on that of the king of Heshbon. From the textual critical viewpoint, we should then consider the possibility that the Slavic rendering of the biblical passage chosen as a "thematic clue" was influenced by other biblical formulae conveying the same message, but in other words. This is the case, for example, with

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Colunga, O.P., and L. Turrado (Madrid, 1965). The Greek text of the New Testament is cited according to *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine,* 23rd ed., by E. Nestle and K. Aland (Stuttgart, 1964). A complete isocolic reading of the chronicle accounts of Igor''s raid, as they are preserved in both the Laurentian and the Hypatian texts, will be included in the new edition of the *Igor' Tale* that I am preparing with A. Danti.

Exodus 8:32, where the Pharaoh, like Igor' Svjatoslavič, "hardens" his own heart: καὶ ἐβάρυνε φαραὼ τὴν καρδίαν αὑτοῦ ("And Pharaoh hardened his heart"). The Greek verb βάρυνω combines the gradations of meanings suggested by both "istjagnu ... krěpostiju ... i poostri" and the forms used in Deut. 2:30 (ἐσκλήρυνε ... καὶ κατίσχυσε).

This combination of biblical lexical variations on the theme provided by one textual reference helps us understand the explanatory function of the segment "mužestvomъ naplъnivsja ratnago duxa" and confirms the reading of the whole passage that was suggested above. As to the grammatical construction of the segment (verb + instrumental + a two word cluster in the genitive that modifies the preceding substantive in the instrumental), I think that its "regularity" should be evaluated in connection with stylistic and rhetorical considerations. "Napъlnitisja (= πίμπλημι/πλήθω, 'to fill oneself, to be full of') can take either the genitive or the instrumental: "naplъnisja D[u]xomь S[vę]tymь (ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου)" in the *Ostromir Gospel* (Luke 1:67), and "Napъl'nivъsja S[vja]t[o]go D[u]xa" in Nestor's *Life of Theodosij*.[15] This passage of the *Igor' Tale* seems to combine two stylistic models ("napъlnitisja mužestvomъ" and "napъlnitisja ratnago duxa") to produce a rhetorical formula which conveys a theologically marked message with a didactic connotation.

4. Igor''s blind fury is described with exegetical precision immediately after the presentation of the "thematic clue." God gives him a sign, the eclipse, which any good Christian familiar with biblical examples (παραδείγματα) should have understood (on the biblical motive of darkness in the daytime see, for example, Ps. 105:27–28, Job 5:14 and 19:18, Nah. 1:6). Igor', however (like most modern readers), fails to understand it. The narrator provides an explanatory commentary which, unfortunately, the *codex unicus* of the *Igor' Tale* has handed down to us in corrupted form. Let us first quote the text as it currently reads:

4 «A vsjademъ / bratie / na svoi brъzyja / komoni
3 da pozrimъ / sinego / Donu!»
4 Spala / knjazju / umь / poxoti
4 i žalostь / emu / znamenie / zastupi
3 iskusiti / Donu / velikago. . . .[16]

Isocolically, the segmentation appears irregular because of the two

[15] See I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkogo jazyka*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1902), p. 315.
[16] *Slovo*, p. 44; *La Geste du Prince Igor'*, p. 40.

four-stress cola that alter the typical form of an "alternant sequence" (in this case we would expect 4, 3, 4, 3, 4). The meaning is somewhat unclear — or, at least, it takes an effort to grasp it — because of the unusual syntactic construction.

This complex sentence has two grammatical subjects: *poxoti* and *žalostь*. I think that *poxoti* ("coveting desire"; "saepissime sensu malo," according to *Slovník*)[17] is in the nominative for *poxot*[ь]. The final *i* is probably the result of a graphic contamination with the word *iskusiti* that, as I will try to demonstrate, originally followed it. *Poxoti* is the subject governing the transitive verbal form *spala* and the accusative *umь*. *Spala* can be interpreted as the equivalent (for *s*[ъ]*pal*[*i*]) of the 3rd person singular aorist of *sъpaliti*, 'to burn out,' 'to destroy with fire' (*sъpaliti* being semantically stronger than *paliti*, which is used, e.g., to translate Num. 21:14 according to the Septuagint: πόλεμος τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν Ζωὸβ ἐφλόγισε. . . ; "ratь G[ospodьn]ja Zuva pali. . .").[18] Another conjectual reading, namely, *spa*[*li*]*la*, is also possible (and perhaps even more acceptable from the paleographic point of view, if we consider the possibility of an abbreviation).

Žalostь (Ζῆλος) means "passion, zeal, ambition or envy" and could be connected with "pride."[19] Here *žalostь* is the subject governing the 3rd person singular aorist *zastupi* ("dimmed, made obscure") and the accusative *znamenie* ("the sign").

Literally, we can translate the passage as: "The desire burned the prince's mind and [his] passion made the sign obscure to him." The last colon, "iskusiti Donu velikogo (to taste the Great Don)" remains loose, without any immediate syntactical connection. To interpret it, we must have recourse to a sort of rhetorical iteration and read: "[the passion] to taste the Great Don."

It seems to me that the sentence becomes much clearer, with no need of any rhetorical (mental) iteration or "filling," if we simply invert the order of the last two cola to read:

4 «A vsjademъ / bratie / na svoi brъzyja / komoni
3 da pozrimъ / sinego / Donu!»
4 Spal[i]la / knjazju / umь / poxot[ь]
3 iskusiti / Donu / velikago
4 i žalostь / emu / znamenie / zastupi. . . .

Now it is easier to translate the entire sentence literally: "The desire to

17 *Slovník*, 1: 227.
18 Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja*, 2: 869.
19 Peretc, *K izučeniju "Slova,"* pp. 58–59.

taste the Great Don burned the prince's mind and his passion made the sign obscure to him."

This is an interesting example of how effectively the "isocolic grid" can help locate a corruption in the text's texture.[20]

5. Another important passage of the *Igor' Tale* deals with the problem of what "rhetorical manner" the narrator should use (the choice being between the fantastic and the historical style) by referring directly to Bojan's poetry. Its isocolic text can be read as follows:

4 O Bojane / soloviju / starago vremeni!
3 A by ty / sija plъky / uščekotalъ,
4 skača / slaviju / po myslenu / drevu,
3 letaja / umomъ / podъ oblaky!

5 Svivaja / slavy / *obapoly* / sego / vremeni,
5 rišča / vъ tropu / Trojanju / čresъ polja / na gory,
5 pěti bylo / pěsnь / Igorevi / togo / vnuku:
5 «Ne burja / sokoly / zanese / čresъ polja / širokaja,
5 galici / stady / běžatь / kъ Donu / Velikomu. . . .»

6 Či li vъspěti / bylo / věščei / Bojane / Velesovь / vnuče:
6 Komoni / ržutь / za Suloju, / zvenitь / slava / vъ Kyevě,
6 truby / trubjatь / vъ Nověgradě, / stojatь / stjazi / vъ Putivlě...?»

This reading is characterized by a punctuation and consequently a division into logical units different from that offered by current interpretations of the text. A first pause is detected after "podъ oblaky." This is intended to emphasize the general definition of Bojan's style. To describe this style, a type of bird imagery is used that is immediately reminiscent of the parallel description in the exordium. The beginning of the next sentence ("Svivaja . . . pěti bylo . . . vnuku") is marked by a switch in the rhythmical segmentation from an alternant isocolic series to a plain five-stress pentacolon. This sentence shows the rhetorical models at the dis-

[20] That some scribal error might have affected the syntactical setting of this passage and, in particular, the order of its sentences had already been noticed by nineteenth-century scholars. I do not think, however, that the text needs other major corrections. As Jakobson writes:
"Suivant Sobolevskij 1888 ["Ob odnom meste 'Slova o polku Igoreve," *Čtenija v Istoričeskom obščestve Nestora-Letopisca,* vol. 2, 1888] ces versets [from "Togda Igorь" . . . to . . . "šelomom Donu"] auraient à l'origine occupé leur place entre 25 et 26 ["a knjazju slavě . . . Togda vъstupi Igor' knjazь vь zlatъ stremenь], mais l'histoire de la campagne d'Igor' dans *Hyp.* corrobore l'ordre de PA: 1) Igor' ne se laisse pas décourager par l'éclipse de soleil; 2) Igor' attend son frère Vsevolod" (*Selected Writings,* 4: 150).

posal of the writer-narrator: ambiguity of expression (fantastic imagery) and "Trojan" pathos (epic narrative). The poetic "samples" contained in the last two cola of the pentacolon and the following tricolon, respectively, exemplify precisely these poetic manners: the falcons and daws of the first rhetorical citation are images of the horses, trumpets, and banners presented in the second poetic sample.

From the textual critical point of view, however, the most serious problem regards the first colon in the five-stress series. Should we read "oba poly" or "obapoly"? The prosodic structure, within a pentacolon of five-stress segments which are clearly marked syntactically, seems to confirm the reading "obápoly." We see here a lexical unit which, according to L. A. Bulaxovskij, corresponds to the modern Russian form "obápolъ" and which commonly means "from both sides (*s obeix storon*)."[21] The meaning of "obápoly" in this precise context, however, seems to be more subtle. As Roman Jakobson has indicated in his discussion of the *Igor' Tale*'s exordium,[22] and as other scholars have mentioned with respect to various recurrent forms in other parts of the work, it is useful to turn to Greek models other than the Septuagint, the Gospels, or the writings of the church fathers to reconstruct the stylistic patterns of Old Rus' prose. This certainly does not mean that the author (or editor, compiler, scribe) of the *Igor' Tale* necessarily had any direct knowledge of the Greek literary tradition. The comparison with Greek formulaic models is justified not by any hypothetical relationship of direct textual dependency, but by the nature of the Orthodox Slavic literary tradition as a part of the spiritual community of Eastern Christianity guided by Byzantium.

If we consider "obapoly" to be a formal equivalent of ἀμφότερα and examine the meaning of this Greek form within the range of its semantic combinations in a number of morphological variations (ἀμφοτέρη, ἀμφοτέρως, κατ' ἀμφότερα, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα), we might consider that the song "woven" into the *Igor' Tale* ("svivaja slavy") refers to "two aspects" of the subject under discussion. In our specific case, these two aspects could be good and bad fortune or even, with a more precise connotation, the good and evil *fama* ("slava" or δόξα) which is gained by a military exploit. This interpretation corresponds to the dominant motif of the *Igor' Tale* — in search of *slava*, Igor' Svjatoslavič fights valorously, but his *slava* is not justified by his concomitant observance of the religious

[21] Cf. Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik*, 4: 127; *Slovo*, p. 477; Adrianova-Peretc, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve,"* p. 60.
[22] Jakobson, *Selected Writings*, 4: 238ff.

and political laws of the land. It seems quite plausible within the framework of a formulaic Old Rus' style modelled on the Greek tradition. Among the many possible models, or carriers of model-producing formulae, we might consider the following passage from Thucydides: ὡς οὖν επὶ τοσαύτην πόλιν στρατεύοντες καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ ὑμῖν αυτοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων. . . .[23]

According to the words Thucydides has Archidomos, king of the Lacedemonians, pronounce before the expedition into Attica, the great fame which the army was about to win (μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι) might be of a diverse nature, that is, might have *either* a positive *or* a negative (επ' ἀμφότερα) character depending on the course of the events (ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων). The same consideration is valid for Igor' Svjatoslavič's expedition. The narrator of the *Igor' Tale* could have sung his *slava-doxa* according to the example set by Bojan, "the nightingale of yore," and in an ambivalent manner. This ambivalence would have expressed "both aspects" of the events of that time, that is, "obapoly sego vremeni (ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων)."

The dependence on a Greek formula of the type ἐπ' ἀμφότερα deserves a more thorough investigation which would consider the entire rhetorical-conceptual system of the epic account of Igor' Svjatoslavič's expedition against the Polovcian land.

6. Ever since the publication in 1800 of the *Editio Princeps* of the *Igor' Tale*, editors and commentators have had a hard time interpreting the crucial passage where the celestial omen of the eclipse is combined with Div's dreadful shriek on the threshold of the Polovcian woods. The complexity of the symbols may also have affected an earlier scribe's comprehension of the text. Any attempt to explain this difficult section of the work must consider the possibility that the text underwent some distortion in its transmission even before the compilation of the *codex unicus* used by its first editors. Thus, the fundamental question of whether and to what extent the work's editions contain a *textus traditus* becomes extremely baffling as far as these particular lines are concerned.

One should not depend entirely, however, on the hypothesis of a defective textual transmission. In fact, some obscure sentences may also result from factors such as, for example, the use of particular techniques of

[23] "Considering therefore the power of the state against which we are marching, and the greatness of the reputation which we shall win or lose for our ancestors and ourselves *according to the event. . . ,*" *The Complete Writings of Thucydides: Crawley translation*, Modern Library Edition (New York, 1934), p. 90.

compilation from unidentified sources in the original production of the text.

The passage in question does not show a clearly marked segmentation. Therefore, its isocolic scanning depends much more on interpretation than on recourse to a well definable "grid." The following reading seems plausible:

7 Togda / vъstupi / Igorь / knjazь / / vъ zlatъ / stremenь / i poěxa;
7 po čistomu / polju / solnce / emu / / tъmoju / putь / zastupaše.

3 Noščь / stonušči / emu
5 grozoju / ptičь / ubudi / svistъ / zvěrinъ:
3 *Vъ stazby* / Divъ / kličetъ,
5 vrъx[ъ] dreva / velitъ / poslušati / zemli / neznaemě:
3 Vlъzě / i Pomoriju / i Posuliju
5 i Surožu / i Korsunju / i tebě / Tъmutarakanьskyi / blъvanъ!

3 A Polovci / negotovami / dorogami
3 poběgoša / kъ Donu / Velikomu.
3 Kryčatъ / tělěgy / polunoščy:
3 rci / lebedi / rospušćeni. . . .

Given the unusual length of the first two cola (as a rule the longest cola in the *Igor' Tale,* as in most texts of Orthodox Slavic literature, contain a maximum of six verbal units) one can wonder whether this passage is actually isocolic. I incline toward answering this question affirmatively for two main reasons: (a) there is a tendency in Orthodox Slavic literature to adapt non-isocolic textual material — as, for example, certain literal translations — to the general rhythmic-syntactic structure of the context unless the stylistic insert itself is clearly marked by an independent type of rhetorical segmentation;[24] (b) the individuality of each segment in this isocolic reading of the text can be supported by considerations regarding both their logic and their referential function.

In the first long colon, I have grouped together in a narrative unit the two verbal forms that describe the action of "setting foot in the golden stirrup" and that of "starting off." This solution implies that in this context "poěxa" does not express the action of "riding," but that of "beginning to move." The opposite solution — that is, the commonly accepted reading "i poěxa po čistomu polju" — is supported mainly by the impression that this semantic cluster is marked by the alliterative repetition "*po-* . . . *po.*" I think, however, that such a reading, which seems to be the easiest at first glance, depends on a kind of semantic and stylistic

24 An interesting example of this technique of "textual annexation" is found in the Hypatian Chronicle's account of Igor''s raid.

facilior.[25] If we mark the close connection of the action of "declaring war," as it is expressed by the figural formula "to set foot in the golden stirrup," with that of "moving [against the Polovcians],"[26] we emphasize simultaneously the reckless swiftness of Igor's "plъkъ" and the sudden beginning of the military adventure in the narrative context of this *slovo-pověst'*.

The conceptual unity of the second seven-stress colon can be fully evaluated if we read it in the light of its biblical subtext. It is not the fact that the sun was obscured (because of the eclipse) that is relevant from the exegetical viewpoint, but that the darkness was not of a merely physical kind. Igor''s path crossed a "čistoe polje," an open field, before reaching the Polovcian woods. Nothing on earth, besides man himself, could cast shadows here. This image conveys the idea of clear daylight. Its fundamental constituents are the wide-open space and the shining sun. The divine omen consists in the sudden disruption of this visible harmony. It is important to stress the fact that "the sun barred his path with darkness" in a shadowless plain, "po čistomu polju." Therefore, in our interpretative reading Igor''s *path* should not be separated from the *open field* which it crosses and whose physical "čistota" it shares.

Both the physical and the spiritual features of the image become clear if we refer to its biblical subtext and exegetical referent. We read in Job 5: 13–14: "He [the Lord] takes the wise in their own craftiness; and the schemes of the wily are brought to a quick end. They meet with darkness in the daytime, and grope at noonday as in the night." There is no doubt that these words fit perfectly the situation in which Igor' Svjatoslavič had put himself by his reliance on his own military craftiness and by his wily violation of the political and military rules of Rus'. These rules, as Svjatoslav will point out in his "golden speech," required full obedience to the great prince to preserve the unity of Rus' and to avoid thoughtless initiatives by ambitious individuals.[27]

[25] This type of alliterative repetition can, as a matter of fact, have a disjunctive syntactical function. Cf., for example, "Proidoša val na čistoe *po*le / / i *po*idoša bitьsja" (*Hyp. Chr.*, year 1151, cited by Adrianova-Peretc, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve,"* p. 75).
[26] Cf. the examples of "poěxati" used in the sense of "vystupit', pojti vojnoju" in Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja*, 2: 1339: "poědi borzo . . . na poganuju Litvu" (*Pskov. I. let.*, for the year 6773); "A koli mi budetъ poslati na ratь svoixъ voevodovъ. . . , těmъ poěxati sъ moimъ voevodoju" (*Dogovornaja gramota . . . 1389*); "Poědite, gospoda, sъ nami na Litvu. . ." (*Pskov. I. let.*, year 6914). Cf. also "Poěxa vъ Tatary. . ." (*Nov. I. let.*, year 6778), Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja*, 2: 1338.
[27] 6 Rano / esta načali / Poloveckuju / zemlju / cveliti,
3 a *sebě* / slavy / iskati;

The same book of Job provides us with an even more direct reference to the segment-colon under discussion: "He has walled up my way, so that I cannot pass, and he has set darkness upon my paths" (Job 19:8). To identify with precision the biblical subtext, which extends to this passage the spirit of the message contained in the *thematic clue* at the beginning of the narration, we must refer "po čistomu polju" to the daylight (ἡμέρας) and the noonday (τὸ δὲ μεσημβρινὸν) of Job 5:14; and we must, in turn, refer this image to the almost literal rendering of επὶ προσωπόν μου σκότος ἔθετο with the words "emu tъmoju putь zastupaše."

It is clear that the writer of the *Igor' Tale* needed a biblical reference to help his readers bridge the gap between the spiritual and historical levels of meaning that coexisted in his didactic account of Igor' Svjatoslavič's raid. But did he have any special reason to select this particular sign-context of the book of Job? Since the true context — that is, the general referent indicated by the work's *thematic clue* — was to be found in the Holy Writ, each citation had to be read as part of its functional and occasional new context (in this case, the *Igor' Tale*) and as a part of the unchangeable biblical text, too. The lines from Job 5:13–14 cited above are followed by words that are not immediately related to the scene of Igor''s path covered with darkness at noon, but are of evident interest for the general interpretation of the *Igor' Tale*. Job 5:15–16 reads: "and let them [those "groping at noonday as in the night" mentioned in the preceding verse] perish in war, and let the weak escape from the land of the mighty. And let the weak have hope, but the mouth of the unjust be stopped."

The whole thematic outline of the *Igor' Tale* is suggested by these words. Igor' and his army, that "gropes at noonday as in the night," should "perish in war." Only after Igor''s repentance, which is thoroughly described in the Hypatian account but only poetically subsumed in the *Igor' Tale*, will he become worthy of clemency and pardon. Igor' the strong and boasting fighter must perish, but Igor' the weak and helpless prisoner, the captive of the mighty and boasting Polovcians, will escape

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6 nъ *nečestno* / odolěste / *nečestno* bo / krovь / poganuju / proljaste.
3 Vaju / xrabraja / serdca:

5 vъ *žestocemъ* / *xaraluzě* / *skovana* / a *vъ buesti* / zakalena;
5 *se li* / *stvoriste* / *moei* / *srebrenej* / *sědině!*
5 *A uže* / *ne viždu* / *vlasti* / *silьnago* / *i bogatago*. . . (Cf. Hab. 1: 3–4).

. . . .

3 Nъ rekoste / *"mužaimešja* / *sami,*
4 *prednjuju* / *slavu* / *poxitimъ,*
3 *a zadnjujusja* / *sami* / *podělimъ"* . . . (Cf. 1 Macc. 5: 56–62).

from their land because it is written "let the weak have hope, but the mouth of the unjust be stopped." Thus, we can translate the first two long cola of this complex passage as follows: "Then Prince Igor' set his foot in the golden stirrup and started off; in the open field the sun barred his path with darkness." (Cf. Job 5:13–14, 15–16, and 19:8.)

Abruptly, the alternant (3/5) hexacolon that follows transfers the scene to the Polovcian woods. In accordance with the figural formula of the book of Job, the "darkness (σκότος, *tьma*)" is also a fearful "night (νύξ, *noščь*)." In spite of its physical concreteness in the surrounding world, it is a personal and essentially spiritual night that "howls at him (*stonušči emu*)." The pause after "emu" is necessary to underline Igor's personal "groping." However, what Igor' perceives is not only the night that howls in his mind, but also the howling night's external, physical horror.

Through this natural horror, as it is expressed by the horror-terror of the forest's birds ("grozoju ptičь" [instrumental + genitive plural]), "the night howling at him (*nošč stonušči emu*) . . . stirred a wild hissing (*ubudi svistъ zvěrinъ*)." Historically, that is, on the concrete level of the narrative, we may assume that this "wild hissing" was the alarm signal of the Polovcian sentinel posted on a treetop. At this point, however, the *Igor' Tale*'s narrator switches from a style based on the biblical dual levels of truth to a style governed by poetic imagery. This switch is typical of the rhetorical technique used throughout the work. It is the rhetorical combination of the language of revelation with that of poetic imagery that can justify, I believe, the presence of "pagan" elements in a religiously inspired work. Both the Scriptures and the Byzantine literary tradition could have acted as direct or indirect models in this connection. To interpret a "pagan" or "barbaric" and demoniacal symbol-character like "Div," the Orthodox Slavic reader could not use the figural code of Christian revelation. Hence came the switch to a language and an imagery of a different type.

The colon which comes after "svistъ zvěrinъ" contains one of the most puzzling *loci obscuri* of the entire work. Many scholars have tried to emend the text given in the *Princeps*, which reads "vъ stazbi."[28] Since this reading does not seem to make sense, most conjectures are based on a different division of the letters into words. Roman Jakobson, for example, reads, "vъ sta zbi," and translates, "a svist zverinyj ix *sotnjami* [S. H.

[28] This word (or words) is omitted in E (the copy made for Catherine II). Cf. Jakobson's critical edition, note to *verset* 28 (*Selected Writings*, 4: 135). This omission confirms that the first editors had serious difficulty deciphering the passage.

Cross: "by hundreds"] sognal. . . ."[29] Other conjectural readings require the addition of some letters. L. A. Dmitriev and D. S. Lixačev read, "svist zvěrin vъsta, zbi[sja] Divъ...," and translate, "svist zverinyj *podnjalsja, vstrepenulsja* Divъ. . . ."[30]

I think that the reading in the *Princeps* can be preserved in substance with only formal changes as regards spelling, namely, *ja* instead of *a* and possibly, but not necessarily, *y* instead of *bi*. As in the case of "sja tъpesni"/ "siju pověstь," which I discussed above, the misreading of a ligature *i* + *malyj jus* (graphic *ję* representing the sound *ja*), as well as the possible confusion between *bi* and the Cyrillic diagraph for *y* (*jer-y*), may go back to an early scribe.

If we consider "stazbi" a variant of "stjazbi" we can interpret this form as a plural feminine from a singular feminine "stazba" – "stjaz[ь]ba," related to "stjazь" (meaning "banner" or "standard"). The relationship between "stjazь" and "stazba" (stjaz[ь]ba), on the other hand, may correspond to that between the Greek pair τὸ σημεῖον ("banner, standard, *vexillum*") and ἡ σημεία ("standard" or "body of troops under a standard, *manipulus*"). Both the singular τὸ σημεῖον and its plural τὰ σημεῖα mean "a signal for battle." The expression "vъ st[j]azbi" can be interpreted as a call "to the banners," that is, an "alarm" (Latin *ad arma!*, Italian *all'arme!*, French *aux armes!*) within the same semantic and phraseological range of σημαίνω εἰς τὰ ὅπλα.

From both the paleographic and the linguistic point of view, the reading "vъ st[ja]z[y]" seems more acceptable. A still more satisfactory solution would be represented by "vъ st[jagy]," especially if we were to establish a connection between the expression "vъ st[jagy] Divъ kličetъ" and similar expressions which occur in the chronicles, for example: "Polovci, prišedše k valovi, *postaviša stjagy svoe*" (Laurentian Chronicle, for the year 1093) and ". . . i *postavi stjagi* Galičьskija" (Hypatian Chronicle, for the year 1153).[31] In the practice of textual criticism, however, one must always ask whether a completely satisfactory emendation might be the equivalent of an *over*-emendation. This risk seems particularly serious when one attempts the *restitutio* of an unclear form in accordance with linguistic patterns that may not fit the particular linguistic tint of the text under consideration. As to the reading "stazbi" and its connection with "stjazь" (or "stjagъ"?), the absence of palatalization in both *t*[ь?]*a* and

[29] *La Geste du Prince Igor'*, p. 155.
[30] *Slovo*, pp. 46, 58.
[31] Cited by Adrianova-Peretc, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve,"* p. 63.

z[ь?] (as in *družba*) may be explained on the basis of historical linguistic documentation. In this case, the paleographic emendation would become unnecessary. I think, therefore, that the reading recorded by the editors of the *Princeps* should be kept in the text and all related conjectures and interpretative hypotheses should be presented in footnotes to the critical apparatus.

With the above considerations we can provide the following translation: "Then Prince Igor' set his foot in the golden stirrup and started off; in the open field the sun barred his path with darkness. The night howling at him stirred, with the birds' terror, a wild hissing. Div shrieks to give the alarm, on the top of a tree he shouts to summon the unknown land: the Volga and the seacoast, the region along the Sula, Surož, and Korsun', and thee, idol of Tmutarakan'! And the Polovcians dashed on unmarked roads toward the Great Don: one would say that they were scattered swans."

The last image establishes a parallel with the birds' terror described in the first five-stress colon. It also represents a logical response to Div's "alarm."

7. In a moving section of the *Igor' Tale* we read that when "the pagans were coming from all sides to inflict defeats on the land of Rus'," *Karna* (an obscure symbolic name which apparently indicated something connected with sorrow) began mourning and *Žlja* (another obscure term also connected with the idea of misery and suffering) "sprang upon the land of Rus' casting fire at the people. . . ." At this point the scene becomes very unclear because of the uncertain reading of the text. The main problem is that of punctuation and, consequently, of logical-syntactical segmentation.

Here isocolic scansion can provide a rhythmic-syntactic grid of great interest. Only a minor emendation is needed to obtain an easily understandable reading of the passage. In order to evaluate the *locus obscurus* in its full context, it seems proper to give an extensive quotation of the isocolic reading of the text:

4 A poganii / sъ vsěxъ / stranъ / prixoždaxu
3 sъ pobědami / na zemlju / Ruskuju.
4 O / daleče / zaide / sokolъ,
3 pticь / bьja / kъ morju!
4 I Igoreva / xrabrago / plъku / ne krěsiti!
3 Za nimъ / kliknu / Karna
4 i Žlja / poskoči / po Ruskoj / zemli,
3 smagu / ljudemъ / myčuči.

6 Vъ plamjaně / [g]rozě / ženy / ruskija / vъsplakašasь / a rkuči:
5 «uže / namъ / svoixъ / milyxъ / ladъ
6 ni mysliju / smysliti / ni dumoju / sdumati / ni očima / sъgljadati,
5 a zlata / i srebra / ni malo / togo / potrepati! »
6 A vъstona bo / bratie / Kievъ / tugoju / a Černigovь / napastьmi.

4 Toska / razlijasja / po ruskoi / zemli,
6 pečalь / žirna / teče / sredě / zemli / ruskyj,
4 a knjazi / sami-na-sebe / kramolu / kovaxu;
6 a poganii / sami / pobědami / nariščušče / na ruskuju / zemlju
4 emljaxu / danь / po bělě / otъ dvora. . . .

It is not my intention to provide an interpretative commentary on the rich imagery of this passage, or to dwell on the origin or function of the terms "Karna," "Žlja," and "Toska." My remarks will be limited to the passage's logical and syntactical distribution. In this connection it seems that the segmentation offered by the isocolic reading leaves very few doubts, if any. My reading, however, implies an interpretation of the words "i Žlja, poskoči po Ruskoj zemli, smagu ljudemъ myčuči vъ plamjaně rozě. . ." (according to the *Princeps* text) very different from those submitted in a number of previous studies.

Among the authoritative editions of our century, those of Jakobson and Dmitriev-Lixačev contain typical examples of how modern scholarship has faced this particular problem. Jakobson's solution is the closest to the type of segmentation presented in the above scansion in that it includes "vъ plamjaně rozě" and "ženy Ruskija" in the same logical unit. S. H. Cross's English translation of Jakobson's text is: ". . . and lamentation swept over the Russian land. Shaking up the embers in a flaming horn, Russian women broke into tears wailing. . . ."[32] Dmitriev-Lixačev, however, thinks that it is "Žlja," not the Russian women, that casts fire at the people. That version reads: ". . . i Žlja poskoči po Ruskoj zemli, zmagu ljudemъ myčuči vъ plamjaně rozě. Ženy Ruskija vъsplakašasь, a rkuči. . . ." It translates: ". . . i Žlja poneslas' po Russkoj zemle, razmykivaja ogon' v plamennon roge. Ženy russkie vosplakalis', progovarivaja. . . ."[33]

Apparently many editors are convinced that there must be a direct connection between "fire" (*smaga*) and the "flaming horn." Critics generally share this impression despite the fact that it is not quite clear what a "flaming horn" might actually be.

My reading submits a conjectural explanation based on both rhythmic-syntactic and textual critical considerations. Instead of "rozě" I read

[32] *La Geste du Prince Igor'*, p. 161.
[33] *Slovo*, pp. 49, 60.

"[g]rozě." The Cyrillic graph for *g* could already have been omitted by the scribe(s) of the *codex unicus* examined by the first editors, possibly under the influence of older but already corrupted codices used by the same scribe(s). A mistake of this type could easily result from a misreading, which could be explained by concurrent paleographic and interpretative factors. The Cyrillic graphs for *ě* and *g* showed common features in both the ustav of the twelfth or thirteenth century and the poluustav of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. In the writing practice any scribe could "make up" a *jatь* simply by "adding" its graphic markers to the graphic skeleton provided by a *glagolь*. It was easy, therefore, to omit one of the two similar letters when they occurred one after the other, especially if the scribe copied letter by letter. If this type of mechanical mistake affected letters marking the end and the beginning of a word, respectively, its impact on the further handing down of the text was likely to be greater if the misreading produced a new word which made sense. This appears to be the case with *grozě* / *rozě*.[34]

Assuming that this *restitutio* is technically correct, it remains to be seen whether the reading "[g]rozě" makes better sense in the particular context of this controversial passage of the *Igor' Tale*. The image of "Žlja" casting fire against the people of Rus' is certainly very close to that of a biblical punishment or plague. This may justify the interpretation of the flaming *groza*, in which the women of Rus' begin their lament, as a divine *groza* ("threat-wrath"). It may also be "terror-horror" as in the topical expression "i bě groza velika, i sěča silna i strašna" (*Pověst' vremennyx lět*, for the year 6532). There are good reasons, however, to think of a more precise connotation for the term. *Groza* also means hell (τάρταρος,

[34] Concerning the interpretation of the "flaming horn" as an allusion to the "Greek fire," see Adrianova-Peretc, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve,"* p. 63. A. Mazon, *Le Slovo d'Igor* (Paris, 1940) writes: "l'évocation de *Plainte* [Žlja] 'répandant la cendre d'une corne brûlante' ('soufflant la flamme dans une corne brûlante') a tout l'air d'une composition académique où une allégorie à la Rubens est traitée suivant le gout de l'époque de Catherine. . . . Les commentateurs s'arrêtent sur cette finale pour discuter gravement s'il s'agit de cendres funèbres ou de feu grégeois, mais sans paraître s'inquieter de l'étrangeté d'une syntaxe qui offre l'emploi de *vъ* avec le locatif (*vъ plamjaně rozě*) là où l'on ne peut attendre que soit *izъ* avec le génitif, si l'on adopte la première interprétation ('répandant la cendre d'une corne brûlante'), soit *vъ* avec l'accusatif si l'on adopte la seconde ('soufflant la flamme dans une corne brûlante'). . ." (pp. 135–36). Jakobson replies: "Les flambeaux cornés faisaient partie du rituel funéraire dans l'ancienne Russie, comme l'indiquent les miniatures de *Radz.* ff. 29a et 133b. Cf. dans le parlers grand-russes *rožki* «bec du flambeau au copeau» et d'autre part l'ancien nom russe d'un rite funéraire — *prosvěti*. . . . Notons que "l'étrangeté" de la syntaxe que Mazon 135 impute a ce verset est également imaginaire: la préposition *vъ* avec le locatif (*vъ plamjaně rozě*) est l'unique que le russe tolère dans cette construction, et non pas *vъ* avec l'accusatif ou *iz* avec le genitif. . ." (*Selected Writings*, 4: 225–26).

γέεννα): "tako estь město to, ideže estь plačь i skrežetъ zubovъ, naricajemaja groza" (*Poučenija Efrema Sirina,* fourteenth century).[35] The particular adjective-noun cluster that we find in "Vъ plamjaně grozě" can be interpreted as a "hell of fire" if we think of the very similar Greek expression that occurs in Matt. 5:22, ὃς δ'ἂν εἴπε μωρέ, ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός ("and whoever says 'You fool' shall be liable to the *hell of fire*"), and in Matt. 18:9, ἢ δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός ("than with two eyes to be thrown into the *hell of fire*"). It is important to note, in any case, that all these connotations of *groza* converge in a common idea of infernal suffering and torment. Whether we interpret the "hell of fire (or flames)" in a realistic or figurative sense does not affect the term's fitting this context perfectly. If we accept this emendation and translate "In a hell of fire the women of Rus' were shedding tears and they were saying. . . ," it seems to me that the text makes sense. The "flaming horn" might well be the unintentional creation of some inaccurate scribe.

8. The combination of the isocolic reading of the text with the traditional methods of philological analysis—particularly those of textual criticism—can also be very useful in interpreting the enigmatic passage of the *Igor' Tale* that describes Great Prince Svjatoslav's nightmare. Here, too, an extensive citation of isocolic scansion helps to evaluate single obscure expressions within their syntactical and rhetorical contexts:

4 A Svjatъslavь / mutenъ / sonъ / vidě
2 vъ Kievě / na goraxъ.
4 «Si nočь / sъ večera / oděvaxъte mja / , reče,
2 črъnoju / napolomoju.
2 Na krovaty / tisově
3 čгъpjaxutь mi / sinee / vino
2 sъ trudomь / směšeno.
3 Sypaxutь mi / tъščimi / tuly
2 poganyxъ / tlъkovinъ.
3 Velikyi / ženčjugь / na lono,
4 i něgujutъ mja / uže / dьsky / bezъ kněsa
3 v moemъ / teremě / zlatovrъsěmъ.
4 Vsju noščь / sъ večera / bosovi / vrani
3 vъzgrajaxu / u Plěsnьska / na boloni.

[35] Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja,* 1: 595; cf. s.v. "groza" in Vinogradova, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve,"* pp. 179–81.

3 Bě[go]ša / debrь[s]ki / san[i]
3 i nesoš[a] [mja] / kъ sinemu / morju.»
3 I rkoša / bojare / knjazju:
2 «Uže / knjaže,
3 tuga / umь / polonila.
2 Se bo / dva sokola
4 slětěsta / sъ otnja / stola / zlata,
3 poiskati / grada / Тьmutarokanja,
4 a ljubo / ispiti / šelomomь / Donu.
3 Uže / sokoloma / krilьca
4 pripěšali / poganyxъ / sabljami, / / a samaju
3 oputaša / vъ putiny / želězny». . . .

Because this reading differs significantly from the interpretations offered by previous scholarship, it seems appropriate to translate the whole passage:

. . . And Svjatoslav had a troubled dream in Kiev, on the hills. "Last night early in the evening they were clothing me," he said, "in a black shroud. On a bed of cedar they poured me 'livid' wine mingled with bitterness. They strewed me with empty quivers of pagan infidels. A great pearl [is] on my chest; and boards without a rafter are already taking care of me in my gold-domed hall. All night long from evening onward gloomy ravens were croaking on the swamp near Plesnesk. An infernal sledge was running away and it was carrying me to the 'livid' sea." And the boyars said to the prince: "Sadness, Prince, has already possessed thy mind. For two falcons have flown away from the golden throne of their father to seek the city of Tmutarokan', or else to drink of the Don with their helmets. Already the falcons' wings have been clipped by the sabres of infidels, and they themselves got fettered in fetters of iron."

The harmonic distribution of the rhythmical units is remarkable. The entire episode is related in sequences of alternant cola, the only exception being the three-stress dicolon. In fact, the function of this dicolon is precisely to interrupt the alternant series in order to mark the end of Svjatoslav's words. By reading the text according to this isocolic grid we obtain syntactic segments that show their logical individuality very clearly. There are only two cola whose limits are marked more by the context than by their intrinsic characteristics. Upon closer examination, however, these characteristics can be detected. In the first case the reading of "sé bo / dva sókola" with two stresses is well supported by the sound effect which results from the iteration of clitic clusters. In the case of the post-pause word "/ / a samoju," the major emphatic pause before "oputaša" is justified by the fact that both alliteration and paranomasia link "o*put*aša" and "*put*ini" to each other, thus separating these words, emphatically,

from the preceding colon. I do not think that the clitization of "si-nočь" and "vsju-nošč," which are well-established lexical units, presents any serious problem.

Both Jakobson and Dmitriev-Lixačev include "na krovaty tisově" in the first sentence of Svjatoslav's account. In fact, this segment may have a bivalent syntactical connection. I prefer the solution suggested by the isocolic grid because in the dream's rhetorical composition, the entire scene of Svjatoslav's death appears to be divided into four parts, each marked by a pictorial clue. The four isocolic sequences, including the conclusive dicolon, correspond to these panels. The first scene, which takes place in the palace "on the hills," is characterized by the pictorial dynamism of the moribund's clothing. In the second scene, the prince dies on his bed of cedar, where he receives final military honors (the empty quivers represent, I think, a military trophy).

In the third scene the prince is dead. Here, again, I link the segment "velikyi ženčjugь na lono" to what follows, whereas both Jakobson and Dmitriev-Lixačev consider the "great pearl" an accusative governed by "sypaxutь." In my opinion, the action of "strewing" can well be connected with the instrumental "tъščimi tuly,"[36] for a "great pearl on the chest" is not supposed to be "dropped." The image suggests the stillness of a precious object lying on a dead body. In fact, the essence of my interpretation lies in concluding that in the third "isocolic scene" the prince is dead. If my reading of the colon "i něgujutъ mja uže dьsky bezъ kněsa" is correct, there can be hardly any doubt in this connection. Nobody, I believe, is "caressing" Svjatoslav. He is already embraced by "boards without a rafter," that is, by a coffin. That "dьsky bezъ kněsa" is a metaphor for a coffin seems very clear to me. The metaphor is not uncommon: in modern Russian a "domok v šest' dosok" means a coffin or a tomb;[37] a coffin is also often referred to as "[a house] without a rafter." The image has a particular function in the present context: its irony-and-humility connotation is clearly opposed to the earthly pride of the "gold-domed hall" where, apparently, the coffin lies for the funeral. Croaking ravens announce the prince's death all night long. They are perhaps in the dream, but perhaps not. Their precise location in time and space seems to underline the half-consciousness of an obsessive dream. I believe that "u

[36] I.e., if we interpret the verb in the sense of "[po]sypati," as in "zemleju posypavъše grobъ svoi" (*Iakova mnixa skazanie o Borisě i Glěbě, vъ sp. XII v.*, in Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja*, 2: 1282), or "[o]sypati," as in "i osyplą ją gnoemь" (*Slovník*, 2: 576).

[37] V. Dal', *Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskogo jazyka*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1880; reprinted 1956), p. 476.

Plěsnьska na boloni" — the words that mark the end of this isocolic series and parallel the preceding formula "vъ Kievě na goraxъ" — belong to the gloomy landscape of this panel.

The final "isocolic scene" is that of the "last journey," *ad inferos*. Undoubtedly this dicolon, which has been discussed by various scholars, needs textual emendation. The editors of the *Princeps* read: "u Plěsnьska na boloni běša debrь Kisanju, i ne sošlju kъ sinemu morju." Their translation of these words is typical of their methods: "uševšis' u Plěnska na vygoně vъ debri Kisanovoj, i ne poletěli kъ morju sinemu" (pp. 23–24). This clearly defective text is, for the most part, preserved in the 1967 edition by Dmitriev-Lixačev, with only one correction, "nesošasja" instead of "ne sošlju" (translation: "serye vorony grajaly u Plesn'ska na lugu, byli v debri Kisanovoj i poneslis' k sinemu morju").[38] Under the influence of a different critical tradition, Jakobson, on the other hand, corrected the text in a more complete and convincing way: "U Plěsnьska na boloni běša debrь[s]ky san[i] i nesoš[ja] [ě] kъ sinemu morju" (S. H. Cross's translation: "At the foothill by Plesnesk a sledge appeared, and was borne towards the blue sea").[39] The crucial part of this reading is represented by "debrь[s]sky san[i]," which Jakobson renders, in his Russian translation, with "drovni," that is, "un traîneau forestier (ou drovni, d'après la terminologie russe plus récente, long traîneau pour transporter les arbres abattus)."[40] I keep this particular reading by Jakobson in my own text, but interpret the adjective "debrь[s]ski" to mean "infernal" in the sense of "related to the *inferi*," that is, a kind of "sledge-hearse." I think that this interpretation is well supported by the adjective's clear connection with "dьbrь" as the antonomasia of "the valley" (φάραγξ), that is, the Gehenna (γέεννα).[41] I also accept Jakobson's emendation "nesoš[a]," but submit the conjectural reading [*mja*] instead of [*ě*]. It seems to me that this emendation is supported by logical (Svjatoslav is still dreaming his own death) as well as by paleographic considerations. In fact, the letters of the words in the *Princeps* ("i ne sošlju") that need correction are the Cyrillic *l* and *ju*. Only one oblique line is needed to obtain the graph for *m* by uniting *l* with the vertical stroke of the adjacent graph for *ju*. The shape of the second component of the diagraph for *ju* could easily be confused with [*j*]*a*.

38 *Slovo*, pp. 50, 61.
39 *La Geste du Prince Igor'*, p. 165.
40 Jakobson, *Selected Writings*, 4: 154.
41 Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja*, 1: 767; *Slovník*, 1: 538. Cf. G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1921; reprinted 1956), p. 89.

There are no textual emendations in the last two isocolic series given in my citation.

9. Some conclusions of general interest can be drawn from this discussion of several controversial readings of the text of the *Igor' Tale*.

Isocolic scanning should not be interpreted as a technique for the study of purely formal structures. Its main purpose is not that of describing the *ornatus* or κόσμος — that is, the "ornament" or "cosmetics" — of a text. What is important is to investigate the text's texture by analyzing the distribution of its *cola*, that is, its "members" or "segments." In principle, it is no less useful to study the interconnections of *hetero*-cola than to study those of *iso*-cola. The presence of *iso*-colic structures in a text creates particularly favorable conditions for its analysis, but one should not rule out the possibility of discovering in the old texts of Orthodox Slavic literature other types of recurring connections which might also be reduced to a "principle." It is due to the opportunity it offers of "dismembering" a text according to a philologically proved principle that isocolic reading can be of great value in textual criticism.

In several instances the text of the *Igor' Tale* bears traces of misreadings that seem to be connected with a centuries-old scribal tradition. The hypothesis about the text's recent and artificial origin then becomes completely untenable.

If the textual damage due to scribal error goes back to stages of transmission which precede not only the *Editio Princeps* but also its basis, the no longer extant *codex unicus*, it is certainly methodologically incorrect to consider the *Igor' Tale* a work deprived of a textual tradition which can prove whether we are dealing with a *textus traditus*. Formally, we should describe the *Igor' Tale* as a work "handed down by testimonies of the nineteenth century," namely, P (*Princeps*), P_2 (Variant of *Princeps*), E (Catherine's copy), K (Karamzin's notes), and M (Malinovskij's notes). We can use both direct and indirect information to prove that this textual documentation derives compactly from a single antecedent. The fact that the extant testimonies are so recent does not pose any difficulty from the methodological viewpoint, because a gap of several centuries is certainly not unusual in the handing down of a work.

The questions that do remain open for discussion from a technical viewpoint are these:

(1) On the basis of the extant textual evidence, how far back in time can we go in studying the text's transmission?

(2) To what extent should the tentative dating of parts of the extant textual material be extended to the whole?

(3) Does the history of the handing down of this *text* coincide with that of the handing down of an unchanged *work*?

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A LEGEND ABOUT PAPER MANUFACTURING IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY UKRAINE

JAROSLAV STEPANIV

The earliest stage in the history of paper's triumphant march from east to west is shrouded in mystery. Legends of improbably early dates of manufacture exist throughout Europe. Historians have sought to verify the disputable dates for paper manufacturing in various localities in Western and Central Europe, as, for example, in Herault as early as 1189, in Montefano — 1276 (or 1275, 1278), in Cologne — 1320, in Neudegh ob der Au — 1374, in Cheb (Eger) — 1370, etc.[1] The dates of the initial manufacture of paper in the Ukraine and the allegation that paper was produced there as early as the thirteenth century have long puzzled scholars, too.

The Ukrainian historian, ethnographer, and linguist Ivan Vahylevyč (1811–1866), a prominent figure in the cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century in the Western Ukraine, wrote on 8 March 1836 to the Russian historian M. Pogodin (1800–1875) that he presumed "at that time [i.e., in the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century] there were *termitni* [i.e., paper] mills in Ruthenia." Vahylevyč's letter was published in Moscow that same year,[2] and so the legend of paper's early history in the Ukraine was born.

The prominent Ukrainian scholar Jakiv Fedorovyč Holovac'kyj (1814–1888) explained how the hypothesis arose in the memoirs he published in

[1] A. F. Gasparinetti, "Zwei alte Papiermühlen die nie existiert haben," *Papiergeschichte* (Mainz), 7 (1957): 23–26; F. Pabich, "Dzieje najstarszej papierni w Prusach Królewskich," *Przegląd Papierniczy* (Łódź), 21, no. 8 (1965): 34–36; M. Vykydal, "Byla první česká papírna v Chebu? Přehled literatury," *Papír a celulóza* (Prague), 1968, no. 4, pp. 111–12; E. Jalke, "Gegen fortdauernde Legendenbildung in papierindustriellen Publikationen," *IPH-Information*, n.s. (Hanover), 1970, no. 2, p. 34; H. Gachet, "Lance pour les moulins (à papier)," *Le courier de l'Unesco* (Paris), 1972, no. 7, p. 16; O. Emery, "Beharrliche Irrtümer," *IPH-Information*, n.s., 1975, no. 2, p. 30ff.

[2] M. P. Pogodin, "Slavjanskie novosti," *Moskovskij nabljudatel'* 7, no. 5 (1836): 295. The text of the letter is quoted in Russian translation by O. Bodjans'kyj; the Ukrainian original has been lost. It is reprinted in I. S. Svencickij, *Materialy po istorii vozroždenija Karpatskoj Rusi*, vol. 1 (L'viv, 1906), p. 150.

1883 and 1885.[3] In the spring of 1835,[4] Vahylevyč and Holovac'kyj — who had become friends — were working in the library of Count J. F. Tarnowski in Dykiv (today Dzików, Poland) when they discovered an old manuscript. The manuscript, a translation from Greek into Old Ukrainian of canons compiled by an ecumenical council and church fathers, was known as the "Kormča knyha." On the basis of its linguistic and paleographic peculiarities, Vahylevyč dated the manuscript, which was written on a fine grade of paper, to the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. To Pogodin Vahylevyč wrote: "This *Kormča knyha,* lacking the first pages, should, by its language and spelling, be referred to the twelfth or to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is written on exquisite paper (*termitka*)."[5]

In subsequent discussions with friends Vahylevyč referred to a Polish historian of law, W. A. Maciejowski (1793–1883), who reputedly said that already in the thirteenth century two brothers living in the town of Halyč were making paper from rags. Buttressing his argument with linguistic evidence, Vahylevyč claimed that in the East Galician region where he was born, *termitka* was used specifically to mean paper. Furthermore, he maintained that the word was probably of Greek origin and that it was unknown in other languages.[6] Following this idea determinedly, Vahylevyč used the word to mean paper in all his writings. It

[3] Ja. G. [Holovac'kyj], "K istorii galicko-russkoj pis'mennosti: Neskol'ko zamečanij na pis'mo I. Vagileviča K. M. P. Pogodinu," *Kievskaja starina* (Kiev), 6 (August 1883): 655–56; idem, "Vospominanija o Markiane Šaškeviče i Ivane Vagileviče (Iz zapisok)," *Literaturnyj sbornik* (Ľviv), 1886, no. 1, p. 238. The texts differ on dates and in style.

[4] The date is open to discussion. Holovac'kyj himself referred to it as being in the spring of 1834 in the memoirs published in 1883. The date "Spring 1832," which appeared in the text published in 1886, is obviously wrong, although it was accepted by the compilers of the compendium *Pys'mennyky Zaxidnoji Ukrajiny 30–50-x rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1965), p. 238. Also see M. Voznjak's article "Z romantyčnoho periodu fol'klornyx zanjat' Jakova Holovac'koho," published in his *U stolittja "Zori" Markijana Šaškevyča (1834–1934): Novi rozšuky pro dijalnist' joho hurtka,* pt. 1 (Ľviv, 1935), p. 78. Voznjak accepted the date of spring 1834, mistakenly presuming that Holovac'kyj himself had corrected it from 1832 to 1834 (in fact, the memoirs with the date 1832 appeared later, in 1886). J. Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830–1848* (Cracow, 1973), p. 254, supposes that the traveling took place not earlier than the end of May 1835. J. Kozik follows the view of M. Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka Ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną krymską* (Warsaw, 1934), p. 67.

[5] Pogodin, "Slavjanskie novosti," p. 295.

[6] Pogodin, "Slavjanskie novosti," p. 295. In his letter to P. Šafařík of 3 October 1836, written from Ľviv, he remarked that the word *termitka* (charta) was of ancient origin. Cf. J. Bryk, *Materialy do istoriji ukrajins'ko-čes'kyx vzajemyn v peršij polovyni XIX st.* (Ľviv, 1921), p. 8; also see *Korespondence Pavla Josefa Šafaříka,* ed. by A. Francev, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Prague, 1927), p. 391.

appeared regularly in his letters to Pogodin: 10/22 October 1836 — "v okresni Halyča tyraje sje mnoho termîtnyx žmytîv i lystîv"; 27 June/9 July 1837 — "maju obîtcjano z ynudu oproče s Tustanja pid Halyčem, dejaki termîtky"; 30 January 1838 — "O huculax napysaŭem 7 lyst[iv] termît[nyx]."[7] The term also appeared in Vahylevyč's letter of 3 October 1836 to the Slovak scholar P. Šafařík.[8] In the Ukrainian dictionary he compiled in 1834–1844 (which has never been published) Vahylevyč explained *termitka* with a reference to the Polish *papier.*[9] Use of *termitka* to mean "paper" was adopted by other West Ukrainian intellectuals, including Holovac'kyj,[10] who later became very critical of Vahylevyč's hypothesis about the beginning of paper manufacturing in the Ukraine.

The following factors make the hypothesis implausible:

1. Šafařík, who learned about the Kormča knyha from Vahylevyč as early as 1838, doubted that it dated to the twelfth century.[11] The manuscript is now ascribed to the mid-fourteenth century.[12]

[7] Pogodin, "Slavjanskie novosti," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija* (St. Petersburg), 19, no. 7 (1838): 212 (letter written 30 January 1838); *Pis'ma M. P. Pogodinu iz slavjanskix zemel' (1835–1861)*, ed. by N. Popova, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1880), pp. 625, 631, 633.

[8] Cf. fn. 6.

[9] *Slovar' jazyka južnoruskoho*, Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad, Department of Manuscripts, Petruševyč fund, dossier 23, p. 90. The dictionary was compiled anonymously; Vahylevyč's authorship was proved by his autograph. The manuscript of the dictionary is mentioned several times in literature. Cf. A. Bielowski, "Wspomnienie o Janie Wagilewiczu," *Dziennik Literacki* (L'viv), 1866, no. 24, p. 374; V. Kocovs'kyj's introduction to *Pysannja M. Šaškevyča, I. Vahylevyča i Ja. Holovac'koho* (L'viv, 1884), p. xxxiii. About the transference of the dictionary's manuscript to Petersburg by A. Petrusevyč, see I. S. Svencickij, *Obzor otnošenij Karpatskoj Rusi s Rossiej v I-uju pol. XIV v.* (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 55.

[10] Cf. Holovac'kyj's letter to Šafařík, written 20 October 1837 (*Korespondence*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 281); the word *termitka* appears in the letter three times.

[11] Šafařík's letter to Pogodin written 8 December 1838 (*Pis'ma k M. P. Pogodinu*, vol. 2 [Moscow, 1879], p. 229; *Korespondence*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 577). Later the problem of this Kormča knyha was complicated because there was another Old Ukrainian Kormča knyha from the fifteenth century in Dykiv. It was this book, not the earlier one, that was sent to Šafařík by Count Tarnowski. In July 1842, Šafařík sent the fifteenth-century Kormča knyha (erroneously dated to the sixteenth century) to the Archeographical Commission in Petersburg for temporary use. The history of how the fifteenth-century Kormča knyha was used is vaguely described in A. Kočubinskij and P. I. Šafařík, "Očerk iz žizni russkoj nauki polveka tomu nazad," *Vestnik Evropy* (St. Petersburg), 239, no. 3 (May 1906): 140; Bryk, *Materialy do istoriji ukrajins'ko-čes'kyx vzajemyn*, p. 20; *Korespondence*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 243; Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, pp. 231, 261. The later Kormča knyha, which was presumably written in Kiev and is now dated to the last third of the fifteenth century (after 1477), is also held by the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (accession no. 71/1952). Cf. *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie ustavy XI–XV vv.*, ed. by Ja. N. Ščapov (Moscow, 1976), p. 36.

[12] A. Chmiel, "Rękopisy biblioteki w Dzikowie (hr. Tarnowskich)," *Przewodnik Bibliograficzny* (Cracow), 30, no. 12 (1907): 281. The manuscript, there registered under no. 4-1, is now in the Jagiellonian Library, accession no. 34/1952.

2. None of Maciejowski's many writings ever mention that paper was being manufactured in Halyč in the thirteenth century.[13] Vahylevyč and Maciejowski did meet in September 1834, during Maciejowski's first visit to Ľviv,[14] as Vahylevyč mentioned ten years later.[15] Afterwards the Polish historian visited Ľviv and met with Vahylevyč quite often.[16] In April 1840 Maciejowski probably visited Vahylevyč in Ožydiv;[17] in September 1844 they again got together in Ľviv.[18] In 1847, the friendship of the two scholars prompted Maciejowski, ideologically both a Slavophile and a Russophile, to mediate between Vahylevyč and A. Ja. Storoženko (1790–1857), who then held a position of authority in the government of the Congress Kingdom of Poland. Apparently, an attempt was made at the time to secure the chair in Slavonic languages at Kiev or Xarkiv University for Vahylevyč.[19] Although Maciejowski and Vahylevyč corresponded regularly over many years, only a small portion of their letters have survived;[20] they do not mention the history of paper at all. It is probable that the two intellectuals discussed the subject, but it is highly unlikely that the critically-minded Maciejowski, who knew much about the history of handicrafts and had studied the historical sources thoroughly,[21] would

[13] See S. Borowski, *Materiały do biografii W. A. Maciejowskiego* (Wrocław, 1959).
[14] K. Zap wrote to Šafařík about Maciejowski's visit to Ľviv in September 1837 (cf. Bryk, *Materialy do istoriji ukrajins'ko-českyx vzajemyn*, p. 140). Maciejowski himself wrote about his travels to Galicia and Ľviv in letters later published in *Gazeta Poranna* (Warsaw), 18 September 1837. Cf. also V. R.-č [V. I. Ljubič-Romanovič], "Poezdka g. Maceevskogo v Galiciju," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija*, 16, no. 10 (1837): 246–50.
[15] V. N[aumenko], "Pis'mo Ivana Vagileviča k senatoru A. Ja. Storoženku," *Kievskaja starina*, 60 (March 1898): 8.
[16] A. . . [Rościszewski], *O życiu i pismach W. A. Maciejowskiego*, Biblioteka Naukowego Zakładu im. Ossolinskich, vol. 5 (Ľviv, 1843), p. 177.
[17] I. Franko, "Do biohrafiji Ivana Vahylevyča," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka* (Ľviv), 79 (1907): 104.
[18] Cf. Vahylevyč's letter to A. X. Vostokov of 28 December 1895, published in "Perepiska A. X. Vostokova v povremennom porjadke s ob"jasnitelnymi primečanijami I. Sreznevskogo," *Sbornik statej čitannyx v Otdelenii russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk* (St. Petersburg), 5, no. 2 (1873): 376–77.
[19] N[aumenko], "Pis'mo Ivana Vagileviča k senatoru A. Ja. Storoženku," pp. 7–8.
[20] An even smaller portion has been published. The letters of Maciejowski to Vahylevyč discovered after Vahylevyč's death are mentioned in "Rękopisma pozostałe po ś-p. J. Wagilewiczu," *Sioło* (Ľviv), 1867, no. 4, p. 160. One of Vahylevyč's letters is mentioned in J. Bardach, *Wacław Aleksander Maciejowski i jego współcześni* (Wrocław, 1971), p. 18. Maciejowski's and Vahylevyč's letters were also published by M. Voznjak, "Rozvidky Ivana Vahylevyča pro ukrajins'ku movu," in his *U stolittja "Zori" Markijana Šaškevyča*, pt. 2 (Ľviv, 1936), pp. 322–23. Borowski does not mention Vahylevyč in his discussion of Maciejowski's correspondence.
[21] W. A. Maciejowski, "Historia rzemiosł, rzemieślników i rzemieślniczych wyrobów w Polsce od czasów najdawniejszych aż do końca XVIII vieku," *Kwartalnik Kłosów* (Warsaw), 1 (1877): 124–55. The article does not mention paper manufacturing.

have accepted as fact the supposition that two townsmen were manufacturing paper in Halyč as early as the thirteenth century.

3. Although the use of *termitka* for "paper" in a West Ukrainian dialect invites speculation, it probably occurred in only a very small area. The usage is not known in any modern Ukrainian dialect. Only Vahylevyč registered the word: it does not appear in any dictionary, index of dialectal words,[22] or study in lexicology or lexicography. It has no correspondent in the other Slavic languages, despite their many terms for paper.[23] Following a superfluous analogy, Vahylevyč supposed that *termitka* was derived from the Greek word θερμός 'hot, warm.' Yet the word is definitely not Greek in origin. *Termitka* is most probably etymologically connected with the word *termittja* (variants *termitje, termita, termit'*), which in modern Ukrainian means "the waste derived from manufacturing fiber from hemp and flax."[24] In the Carpathian Mountains where Vahylevyč was born, paper mills to which peasants brought hemp and flax rags existed at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century (e.g., in Huzijiv, 1780; Slobidka, 1795–1839; Krexivci, 1798–1869; Kryvotuly Stari, 1803–1816; Herynja, 1807–1809; Ljaxovyči Podorožni, 1807–1869; Vytvycja, 1809–1824; Zahvozd', 1800–1860; Pacykiv, 1817). After defiberizing, the rags were beaten into a paper pulp. It is very likely that this pulp, produced from the waste called *termittja*, was by analogy named *termitka*.

The use of the word *termitka* does not prove that paper was manu-

[22] Reference to it does not appear in the card index of the Ľviv Institute of Humanities of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Nor is it mentioned in the card indices of dialectal words compiled by V. Kalynovyč, or in the files on the Hucul dialect set up by V. Kuryl'čuk (also in the Ľviv Institute of Humanities), or in the files on the Bojko dialect set up by M. Onyškevyč (at the Department of Slavonic Philology, Ľviv University).

[23] Cf., e.g., V. Ružić, "Wortforschung in der Papiergeschichte Jugoslaviens," *Papiergeschichte*, 1969, nos. 3–4, pp. 28–30.

[24] Je. Želexovs'kyj and S. Nedil's'kyj, *Malorus'ko-nimec'kyj slovar*, vol. 2 (Ľviv, 1886), p. 959; B. D. Hrinčenko, *Slovar ukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 4 (Kiev, 1909), p. 257; Z. Kuzela and Ja. Rudnyc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 1283; *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk*, ed. by I. M. Kyryčenko (Kiev, 1963), p. 35. Cf. also V. Šuxevyč, *Hucul'ščyna*, vol. 2 (Ľviv, 1901), p. 147; idem, *Huculszczyzna*, vol. 1 (Ľviv, 1902), p. 171; V. I. Vasylenko, "Ètnografičeskie materialy sobrannye po Poltavskoj gubernii. Opyt tolkovogo slovarja narodnoj texničeskoj terminologii po Poltavskoj gubernii. Otd. 1–3," *Sbornik Xar'kovskogo istoriko-filologičeskogo obščestva* 13 (1902): 200; P. Myhovyč, *L'on i konopli: Ščo treba znaty pro torhivlju prjadyvom l'onu i konopel'* (Ľviv, 1936), pp. 49–50. My correspondents N. Surovcova (Uman') and V. Demjan-Verenčanka (Bukovyna) confirm that the word *termittja* is in use in villages near Uman', *termitje* in the Novoselycja, Hlybočok and Zastavne regions, and *termit'* in the Novoselycja and Zališčyky regions. The word *termittja* is gradually becoming obsolescent because homemade cloth is no longer produced.

factured in Halyč in the thirteenth century. Although Vahylevyč succeeded in introducing some dialectal words (e.g., the names of some months) into literary Ukrainian,[25] his attempt to replace the international *papir* with the regional *termitka* failed. *Termitka* was in use for only a very short time, and then only by Vahylevyč's friends. (Its mention in the edition of Holovac'kyj's memoirs published serially in 1883 and 1885 passed generally unnoticed.) Vahylevyč's idea was revived only after 1965, when portions of Holovac'kyj's memoirs were republished.[26] Its relevance to the history of paper in the Ukraine has now been thoroughly investigated by O. Macjuk,[27] the foremost historian of paper manufacturing in the Ukraine, and other scholars have accepted his findings.[28] Macjuk has popularized Vahylevyč's hypothesis in a number of articles.[29] His case for the beginning of paper manufacturing in the Ukraine in the thirteenth century argues as follows:

> The Galician-Volhynian region, with its capital at Halyč, maintained trade with Byzantium, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and Lithuania. The navigable Dniester [River] was of great importance for trade. The inhabitants of Galicia sailed to the harbor on the Dniester by the Lukva River. There was [situated] the trading center of Halyč. Markets were organized there, to which came merchants from Ruthenia [as well as] Arabs, Tatars, Jews, Italians, and others. Ruthenia maintained traditional trade relations with the Arab world; its security was guaranteed by the Kipchak khans. Quite satisfactory trade relations were maintained with the Baghdad Caliphate [here Macjuk quotes V. T. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 224–77]. Hence, paper might have been brought to Galicia by the Arabs, the Italians or the Tatar-Mongols, who conquered Volodymyr, Halyč and other towns in 1241. It is known that the Tatar-Mongols had paper in early days and used paper bedding during their raids of the Ukraine [here he quotes *Sbornik Russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva,* vol. 35 (St. Petersburg, 1882), p. 27].[30] This can be construed to support Vahylevyč's suggestion about paper manufacturing, but the problem requires detailed research. Paper manufacturing in Halyč probably stopped after the town was destroyed in the middle of

[25] T. Hołyńska-Baranowa, *Ukraińskie nazwy miesięcy na tle ogólnosłowianskim* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1969), p. 118.
[26] *Pys'mennyky Zaxidnoji Ukrajiny,* p. 238.
[27] O. Macjuk, *Papir ta filihrani na ukrajins'kyx zemljax XVI-početok XX st.* (Kiev, 1974), pp. 9–10.
[28] [E. L. Nemirovskij], *V mire knig* (Moscow), 1974, no. 8, p. 96.
[29] Cf., e.g., O. Macjuk, "Do istoriji vyhotovlennja paperu na Ukrajini (Do 450-riččja paperovyx promysliv Ukrajiny)," *Seredni viky na Ukrajini* (Kiev), 2 (1973): 134; V. P. Vas'kiv and O. Macjuk, "Pobut robitnykiv paperovyx fabryk na Ukrajini," *Narodna tvorčist' ta etnohrafija* (Kiev), 1977, no. 3, p. 71.
[30] In fact, the source deals not with Tatar-Mongols of the thirteenth century, but with Ostafij Rjazanec, a Moscow merchant robbed in 1489 (or later) in Tavan' by "Lithuanians" who took his *bumažnik,* i.e., a stitched mattress or bedding (as defined in *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI–XVII vv.,* vol. 1 [Moscow, 1975], p. 354).

the twelfth [!] century and the capital [of the region] first became Xolm and then L'viv.[31]

As a result of Macjuk's work, the notation "Halyč — thirteenth century" was placed alongside that of "Herault — 1189, Montefano — 1276," etc., as a place and time when paper manufacturing purportedly began.

The revival of Vahylevyč's hypothesis elicited some criticism,[32] but not as much as it deserves. In the thirteenth century paper was *not* manufactured in the Ukraine, although it may have been known there because of direct commercial contact with the Levant and the countries of Central Asia. At the end of the thirteenth century, records of Genoese colonies in the Crimea, where merchants from the Ukraine traveled, were written on paper made in Italy.[33] Macjuk's description of trade conducted at Halyč cannot prove that paper manufacturing existed in Galicia in the thirteenth century for the simple reason that no historical sources exist to confirm, directly or indirectly, such manufacture. Also, the time from which paper is imported into a territory to the time when it is produced there usually spans not decades, but centuries. This was surely true about paper in the Ukraine.

Only in the mid-fourteenth century did paper come to prevail over parchment in the Ukrainian lands. It was then that, along with other manuscripts, the Kormča knyha was written. The year 1522 is the first time paper manufacturing is mentioned as occurring in the Ukraine, in the town of Janiv, and from that time the industry progressed rapidly.

As M. Voznjak pointedly remarked, Vahylevyč was "a typical romantic in life, belles lettres, and science."[34] His hypothesis about paper manufacturing in the thirteenth century — spurred as it was by patriotic feelings during the national revival of the early nineteenth century — has no validity for the history of paper in the Ukraine.

[31] O. Macjuk, "Na čomu pysaly naši predky," *Naša kultura* (Warsaw), 1978, no. 6, pp. 12–13.

[32] J. Dashkevych, "Zur Papiergeschichte der Sowjetunion," *IPM-Information*, n.s. (Mainz–Hanover), 1974, no. 3, pp. 59–60.

[33] Cf. the records' publication in M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, vol. 1: *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289–1290* (Paris and The Hague, 1973).

[34] Voznjak, "Rozvidky Ivana Vahylevyča," p. 300. M. Handelsman considered Vahylevyč a "historian with no scientific method, but an unrestrained imagination" (Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka Ks. Adama Czartoryskiego*, p. 83).

IDEOLOGY AND REALITY IN THE BILU *ALIYAH**

YOSEF SALMON

Historiography numbers five *aliyot,* or immigrations, of Zionists to Palestine, dating from the 1880s onward.[1] Each *aliyah* covered a certain period and had its own particular characteristics. The First Aliyah (1882–1904) occurred in two principal waves: the first in the early 1880s, and the second in the early 1890s. Both waves subsided as a result of adverse changes in Ottoman policy toward Jewish immigration. The entire First Aliyah was characterized as the Bilu immigration, despite the small number of members of the Bilu organization in the total Jewish immigration to Palestine during those years.[2] The Bilu movement was organized in the Ukraine, first in Kharkiv and then in Odessa.

Zionist immigration in general was then but a small part of the total

*I wish to thank Professor Richard Pipes of Harvard University and Professor Leonard Schapiro of the London School of Economics, who read the manuscript and made helpful comments on the influence of the Russian intelligentsia on the Biluim during the latter third of the nineteenth century. I also thank my teacher, Professor Shmuel Ettinger of Hebrew University in Jerusalem, for his helpful suggestions. I owe a special debt to Mrs. Shulamit Laskov of the Zionist Research Institute of Tel-Aviv University, who made available to me the manuscript of her book on the Bilu, which has since been published under the title *Ha-Biluim* (Jerusalem, 1979); all references in this article follow the manuscript pagination. All dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar. Most of the Hebrew titles are transliterated; a few have been translated into English. Of course, all statements in the article are my sole responsibility.

[1] The Hebrew word *aliya* (pl. *aliyot,* literally "ascent") has acquired the meaning used in this article, namely, the coming of Jews to Israel from the diaspora as *olim* (sing. masc. *ole,* sing. fem. *ola*) or immigrants intending to reside there permanently.

[2] For the historical importance of the Biluim and their place as forerunners of the labor movement in Palestine, see Moshe Braslavski, *Poalim ve-irguneyhem Ba'aliyah ha-Rishonah* (Tel-Aviv, 1961), p. 21; Menasheh Meyerovitch (Meerovitch), *Minhat Erev* (Rishon Le-Zion, 1941), pp. 5–6, 100, 102; Yitzhak Maor, *Hatnu'ah ha-tziyonit be-Rusia* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 64; and Elhannan Oren, *Hibbat Tziyon be-Vritanya* (Tel-Aviv, 1974), p. 13. On the propagation of the Bilu legend among Jews in Israel, see articles in the Palestine press on the fiftieth anniversary of Bilu: *Ha-Aretz,* 20.4.1932. *Doar Hayom,* 16.11.1931; *Ha-Aretz,* 24.7.1932. About the greetings of the leaders of the yishuv to the last remaining Biluim on the sixtieth anniversary of their immigration, see the Central Zionist Archives (hereafter CZA), A 192/191/1 (1–4). The day the first group reached Palestine, Thammuz 19 (6 July), was for many years celebrated in Palestine as a memorial day to the First Aliyah; see *Karnenu* 19, no. 4: 42.

Jewish influx into Palestine. Between 1880 and 1907, the number of Jews in Palestine grew from 23,000 to 80,000. Most of the community resided in Jerusalem, which already had a Jewish majority at the beginning of the influx.[3] The First Aliyah accounted for only a few thousand of the newcomers, and the number of the Biluim among them was no more than a few dozen.

Jewish immigration to Palestine had begun to swell in the 1840s, following the liberalization of Ottoman domestic policy (the Tanzimat Reforms) and as a result of the protection extended to immigrants by the European consulates set up at the time in Jerusalem and Jaffa. The majority of immigrants came from Eastern and Central Europe — the Russian Empire, Romania, and Hungary — and were not inspired by modern Zionist ideology. Many were motivated by a blend of traditional ideology (e.g., belief in the sanctity of the land of Israel and in the redemption of the Jewish people through the return to Zion) and practical considerations (e.g., desire to escape the worsening conditions in their lands of origin and to improve their lot in Palestine).

The proto-Zionist ideas which had already crystallized in Western Europe during the late 1850s and early 1860s were gaining currency in Eastern Europe. The centers of activity were Poznań, Vienna, Eastern Galicia, and East Prussia — areas where the authorities did not impede the movement — but the literature and propaganda emanating from these areas was also addressed to Jews in the Russian Empire. Nationalistic ideas took hold among two groups of the empire's Jews. The first was the young intelligentsia, who had become alienated from the traditions of their ancestors. During the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s they expressed their views on the pages of Hebrew periodicals such as *Ha-Shahar* (The Dawn), published in Vienna, *Ha-Melitz* (The Advocate), published in Odessa and later in St. Petersburg, *Ha-Tzefira* (The Dawn), published in Warsaw — and on the pages of Russian-language Jewish periodicals such as *Den'* and *Sion,* published in Odessa, the more important *Rassvet,* published first in Odessa and later in St. Petersburg, and *Russkii evrei* and *Voskhod,* also published in St. Petersburg. The second group to be converted to active nationalism came from members of the traditional Jewish intelligentsia who to a certain extent accepted the Enlightenment's criticism of the economic structure of Jewish society. They favored introducing limited general education into the framework of traditional

[3] Mordecai Eliav, *Ahavat Tziyon ve-Kolel Hod* (Tel Aviv, 1971), appendix A. Between 1840 and 1880 the Jewish settlement in Palestine grew in numbers from 9,000 to 23,000.

education, but they vehemently rejected any proposal for reform of the Jewish religion. This group rallied around the newspapers *Ha-Maggid* (The Herald), published in Lück (East Prussia), *Ha-Levanon* (Lebanon), published in Mainz, and *Ha-Havatzelet* (The Lily), published in Jerusalem. During the 1870s the proto-Zionists in Eastern Europe were generally small circles of intelligentsia who were not yet organized into definite groups.

The leaders of the secular intelligentsia included Peretz Smolenskin, writer and editor of *Ha-Shahar* in Vienna; Moses L. Lilienblum, writer for the Hebrew and the Jewish press in the Russian Empire and later a leader of the Hovevei Zion organization in Odessa; Y. L. Gordon, for a time editor of *Ha-Melitz*; and Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, later to gain acclaim as the father of modern Hebrew and the author of the first modern Hebrew dictionary.[4] The members of this group had all once believed in the integration of Jews into imperial Russian society, had subsequently become disillusioned, and had then adopted the Jewish nationalist viewpoint. Each underwent ideological metamorphosis at a different time, and each developed his own brand of nationalism. Their early beliefs had been based on a conviction that the dominant Christian culture was superior to the Jewish culture and that Jews were unable to adapt their sources of livelihood and education to Christian standards.

Lilienblum began to change his views in the early 1870s (apparently in response to the incidents that occurred in Odessa in 1871) and completed his ideological transformation after the anti-Jewish riots that broke out in the empire during 1881–1882. The fact that the pogrom broke out in Odessa, a progressive city, and that its victims included Jews who were economically and professionally prominent (in other words, those who had adapted themselves successfully to the standards of the dominant culture) forced him to conclude that the integration of Jews into imperial Russian society was impossible. After the outbreak of the riots, Lilienblum proclaimed that Jews were a distinct racial and national entity and would therefore be foreigners wherever they lived. Their only hope of belonging to a nation was to become a self-sufficient people in their historic homeland. Lilienblum became convinced that all Jews in the Russian Empire could be transferred to Palestine within a short time, and later his activities were all dedicated to this goal. He felt that the problem of Jews in the empire required immediate solution by practical means,

[4] See S. Breiman, "Ha-Mifne ba-Mahashava ha-Tziburit ha-Yehudit be-Reshit Shnot ha-80," *Shivat Tzion* 2-3 (1953): 83–227; and Israel Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer 'Am* (Jerusalem, 1962).

and he therefore rejected any idea which was not in line with his perception of the situation. He was considered the principal exponent of "practical Zionism," and it was in this spirit that he was to lead the Hovevei Zion organization.

Y. L. Gordon had had nationalistic predilections even before the 1880s. These he expressed in romantic poetry based on motifs from ancient Jewish history in Palestine. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1887, on the eve of the Congress of Berlin, he published an anonymous pamphlet in German entitled *Die jüdische Frage in der orientalistischen Frage* (Vienna, 1877) which called for the recognition of the Jewish national entity in terms of a national state in Palestine. He subsequently abandoned this viewpoint, but until the late 1870s he advocated a program consistent with the admonition "be like everyone outside, and a Jew at home." He sought a synthesis between reform of Jewish society according to the principles of the Enlightenment and preservation of the national character of the Jewish community. Gordon, like many other Jews, led a double existence, for he was strongly attracted to imperial Russian culture and to the "Russian" people. In 1881 he had written that the "Russians" were a good-natured people who, had they known the true spirit of the Jewish religion and teachings, would not have allowed racial enmity toward Jews to take hold among them. Gordon obsessively regarded traditional Judaism as a stumbling-block to any Jewish national revival. After the riots, he called for mass emigration from the Russian Empire and admonished those who hesitated. For a while Gordon supported immigration to America but he later rejected the idea, because although it might resolve the problems of individual Jews, it would destroy forever any nationalist aspirations. Yet, at the same time, Gordon doubted the prospects of the Zionist effort and therefore willingly considered other solutions to the Jewish problem, such as settling Jews throughout the Russian Empire. For this reason he was not made privy to the deliberations of Hovevei Zion. Gordon also gave precedence to "spiritual redemption" over "territorial redemption," thus adding his voice to the school of thought known as "cultural nationalism," which was to win great significance in later years under the leadership of the writer and thinker Asher Ginzburg (Aḥad Ha-Am).

Yet another outlook was represented by Peretz Smolenskin. After living in Odessa for several years, he moved to Vienna in 1868, where he began to publish the newspaper *Ha-Shahar*. From this new vantage point he could survey West European Jewry as well as the East European Jewry with whom he was already familiar. Smolenskin formulated the first

secular Jewish nationalist theory in Eastern Europe, several years after Moses Hess's *Rome and Jerusalem* appeared (1862). Like Hess, Smolenskin claimed that anti-semitism had arisen because the Jewish community was weak, lacked a homeland, and was foreign in the European world.[5] Reform and education would not help normalize its status within European society. On the contrary, the closer the Jewish community drew to that society, the more it would be hated. Smolenskin's main innovation was his definition of Jews as a "spiritual nation" living an independent life in the diaspora. He defined Jewish nationalism not by the traditional criteria of land, state, and spoken language, nor by religious laws, but rather by what he called *Torah,* in the sense of Jewish learning and the Hebrew language as a literary language. Smolenskin had witnessed Jewish assimilation in Western Europe and thus saw the problem more in terms of the survival of Judaism than in terms of the survival of Jews.[6] He was actually the harbinger of "diaspora nationalism."[7] While traveling in the Russian Empire (from February to April 1881), Smolenskin chanced upon the first wave of riots. The young Jews in St. Petersburg and Moscow who returned to Judaism en masse following the riots received him as a prophet. Thereafter Smolenskin reverted to the theory he had held at the beginning of his journalistic career, namely, that Palestine alone could provide "shelter for all our persecuted brothers," and added that Palestine could become a spiritual center for world Jewry. He considered this to be a long-term goal, however, and thus advocated the integration of Jews in the diaspora as a national group during the interim.

Eliezer Ben-Yehudah took a slightly different route. Younger than the other leaders mentioned here, he regarded himself as a disciple of Smolenskin who chose to differ with his master. While a gymnasium student in Daugavpils (Dvinsk), he came into close contact with *Narodniki* circles. Influenced by the struggle of the Balkan peoples for national recognition in 1877–1878, he became a Jewish nationalist and went to Paris as a medical student in order to immigrate from there to Palestine. Ben-Yehudah maintained that the survival of the Jewish people required a national center in Palestine, and he thus criticized those "enlightened" Jews who wanted to settle Jews throughout the Russian Empire. Arguing against Smolenskin's spiritual nationalism, Ben-Yehuda stressed the importance of the political elements of country, national language, and

[5] Breiman, "Ha-Mifne ba-Mahashava," p. 140.
[6] Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer 'Am,* p. 83. P. Smolenskin, "She'elat ha-Yehudim She'elat ha-Hayim," *Ha-Shahar,* 1880, nos. 2–4.
[7] Yehezkel Kaufman, *Gola ve-Nekhar,* vol. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1961), pp. 289–99.

national education in the Jewish national revival. Seeking his own self-realization Ben-Yehuda went to Palestine in 1881. At first he behaved like a traditional Jew, so as to attract adherents to his nationalistic beliefs. Soon, however, he declared himself a secular nationalist, thus antagonizing traditional Jews, some of whom denounced the ideas of Hovevei Zion and began to persecute the Zionist newcomers. Ben-Yehudah was Palestine's first outspoken advocate of secular nationalism, and this ideology was expressed in the publications he edited.

These four leaders were individual pioneers, whereas the members of Bilu had a group pioneering spirit. The Biluim should be viewed against the background of Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire in the early 1880s. Alexander II's laws of 1873, which reduced the term of military service for those with secondary and higher education, also cut back government support of the official Jewish schools. Masses of young Jews became attracted to secular institutions. Many drifted away from Jewish society and dedicated themselves to revolutionary ideologies, some joining the *Narodniki* and, later, the *Narodnaia volia* group. Some young Jewish men volunteered to serve in the tsarist army during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 in order to help liberate their "Slavic brothers," despite the objection of Jewish writers such as Dr. Yitzhak Kaminer, Smolenskin, Ben-Yehudah and others.

The riots against Jews which began on 27 April 1881 in Ielysavethrad (today Kirovohrad) and continued sporadically for three years were decisive in changing the attitudes of the empire's Jews towards emigration and the national idea. Jewish youth was stunned to find that even their fellow revolutionaries justified the riots as a means of stirring the masses against the regime.[8] Groups of Jewish intellectuals who had supported the settlement of Jews throughout the Russian Empire became nationalists overnight. Plans for an enormous emigration were quickly made. Most nationalistic writers called for emigration to Palestine, but there were some who preferred America.[9] Soon groups of disorganized and moneyless refugees began to arrive in Palestine, where they immediately aroused

[8] Maneshe Meyerovitch, *Mi-Bilu ve-'ad ve-ya'afilu* (Rishon le-Zion, 1947), p. 16. Israel Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit fun Yishuv Erez-Israel* (New York, 1917), p. 129. Meyerovitch, *Minhat Erev*, pp. 92–93.

[9] The controversy in Jewish public opinion over the destination for emigrants is outside the scope of this work. It should be noted, however, that university graduates tended to immigrate to America because of their indifference towards the Palestinian national idea, whereas those who favored tradition or had received a traditional Jewish education tended to encourage immigration to Palestine. This is, of course, a generalization which does not hold true in all instances. S. P. Rabinovitch, for example, supported immigration to America.

the opposition of the resident community, which could not support them. Throughout the Russian Empire other groups organized to raise funds and to send emissaries in order to buy land for settlement.

Emigration societies were set up in all parts of the Russian Empire. The destination of most emigrants was the United States, despite the pleas of the nationalistic intelligentsia that it be Palestine. The established Jewish intelligentsia and the wealthy community leaders dissociated themselves completely from the emigration and continued to hope for the improvement of the civil status of Jews within the empire. Their case was strengthened after N. P. Ignatiev was replaced as minister of the interior by Dmitri Tolstoi, who spoke out against the pogrom in July 1882. The establishment's viewpoint was bolstered by news of difficulties in America from returning emigrants and by rumors of problems in Palestine.

The attempts to purchase land in Palestine encountered enormous obstacles. The problem was not only lack of funds. Palestine was an undeveloped land ruled by an inefficient Ottoman regime first uninterested in and later opposed to such purchases. The local Arab population was ruled by Ottoman effendis who, once they sold land, often reneged on their agreements by supporting Arab leaseholders who tried to stop Jews from actually homesteading.

The first center of emigration activity in the Ukraine was Kremenchuh, where a society was formed in January 1882 under the leadership of Z. D. Levontin. In the same month the society began receiving support from the Jewish community of Kharkiv, which was composed of wealthy merchants and professionals. Among them was Israel Belkind, who had graduated from a gymnasium in Mahilioŭ (Mogilev) and had tried to enroll in Kharkiv University. Societies were later formed in Kiev, Odessa, Simferopol', Ielysavethrad, and other places.

Youth groups were organized in Moscow and St. Petersburg among gymnasium and university students. The first intention had been to organize a movement among university students.[10] Israel Belkind convened a meeting of thirty students in Kharkiv to discuss the situation.[11] Some students believed that no distinction should be drawn between the problems of all the empire's people and those of the Jewish people; the majority, however, held that the Jewish people were in the midst of a special crisis and that special measures must be taken on their behalf. Although some students held that national revival need not necessarily be

[10] See the memoirs of M. Mintz in a letter to A. Druyanov, CZA A 9/157/1.
[11] Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit*, p. 143.

sought in Palestine, most connected the idea with a return to Palestine. The students established a society named DAVYU (an acronym in Hebrew of the Biblical verse *Dabber el Benei Yisrael ve-Yissa'u,* "Speak unto the children of Israel that they might go forth"). Later the name was changed to BILU (an acronym of the Biblical verse *Beit Ya'kov lekhu ve-Nelkhah,* "O, House of Jacob, go and let us walk . . ."; the end of the verse, "in the light of the Lord," was omitted). The students' intent was to influence personal behavior, rather than to proselytize. At first they cooperated with the general society in Kharkiv, but after a short time they broke away, claiming that there had been enough talk and that the time had come to act. The steering committee of the society asked who was willing to be a pioneer. Fourteen members answered affirmatively, whereupon the remainder resigned. The society decided to find 3,000 people who would establish a model settlement.[12]

The Bilu society declared its goals to Jewish youth in a proclamation of six articles.[13] These called for:

(1) returning the People of Israel to their historic land;
(2) rejecting any discussion of national spiritual revival in favor of physical settlement in Palestine as the first step towards national rebirth;
(3) dismissing the "emancipation" of European Jews and any progressive ideas as guarantees of Jewish survival;
(4) bringing Jews to Palestine to form not only physical colonies, but also cultural centers;
(5) recognizing that territory is an essential condition for Jewish national survival;
(6) asserting the pioneering, avant-garde nature of the society.

The group's analysis of the predicament of the Jewish people and of their own motives was detailed in a manifesto to Jewish youth which appeared in *Ha-Melitz* on 16 May 1882. Its main points were that Jews remain strangers wherever they lived outside their historic homeland, and that the hope that relinquishing their special identity would lead to acceptance of the Jews by their neighbors was false.

At the trial of anti-Jewish rioters held 18 May 1881 in Kiev, the prosecutor, Strelnikov, declared that "if the Eastern frontier is closed to Jews, why don't they use the Western frontier, which is open to them?" Ignatiev made a similar proclamation on 16 January 1882. The reaction of the

[12] Meyerovitch, *Mi-Bilu,* p. 17. Braslavski, *Poalim ve-Irguneyhem,* p. 21.
[13] A. Druyanov, *Darkhey No'er* (Jerusalem, 1937), p. 250. Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer,* p. 167.

members of the Bilu society was that they did not want to emigrate to the West "for there, too, we will be considered strangers — the only way is to Zion; our attraction to Palestine is stronger than any other consideration; our youth will be the pioneers."[14] The students even debated about the type of regime which should be set up in Palestine — absolute monarchy, presidential republic, or constitutional monarchy.[15]

The group dispersed throughout the empire to disseminate their ideas. Their propagandizing speeches tried to persuade listeners that the Jews' only salvation lay in Palestine and that the traditional belief in redemption through a messiah must be abandoned. The settlements to be set up in Palestine would utilize modern technology, they claimed, so that leisure time for spiritual activity would remain. They called on Jewish youth to leave the gymnasia and universities and to immigrate en masse to Palestine, implying that wealthy Jews in the Russian Empire and in Western Europe would provide financial help.[16] Groups of *Palestintsy* were formed in Moscow, Białystok, Mahilioŭ, Hrodna, Minsk, Aleksandrovsk (today Zaporizhzhia), Odessa, Poltava, and Rostov — not all under the auspices of Bilu. About 300 people organized by the Bilu society itself began to raise funds throughout the Russian Empire and Germany. (The society in Kharkiv even warned rich Jews that if they failed to contribute their lives would be in danger!) When the anticipated funds failed to materialize, it was decided that only bachelors and heads of small families having means for subsistence would be accepted as immigrants.[17] Appeals for aid were addressed to various Jewish groups, but without success. Great hopes were pinned on ties with Laurence Oliphant, the British diplomat and journalist of aristocratic Scottish background who had been a member of the British Parliament. Even before the pogroms, Oliphant had written memoranda to the British prime minister advocating the settlement of Jews in Palestine for political gain and for apparently religious reasons. After the pogroms, he was empowered by a London organization known as the Mansion House Committee to raise funds to help Jews emigrate from the empire. Oliphant tried to convince elements in West European Jewish society to support immigration to

[14] *Ha-Melitz*, 1882, no. 17.
[15] M. Ussishkin, "Ha-Tze'adim ha-Rishonim," in *Yehiel Tschlenov* (Tel Aviv, 1937), pp. 11–12; ibid., p. 9.
[16] On the Moscow society, see Ussishkin, "Ha-Tze'adim," pp. 11–13. The anti-bourgeois leaning of the group was evident in the decision not to include members of wealthy families, such as Tschlenov and Ussishkin, as immigrants.
[17] See the Bilu's letter to Yaffe, 14 April 1882; *Mi-Yamin Rishonim*, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv, 1934), pp. 129–30.

Palestine, but the large organizations — the Anglo-Jewish Association in London and the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin — preferred to help immigrants reach America. Oliphant visited refugee centers in Brody, in Galicia, where he spread rumors that large sums were forthcoming from English Christians and that Britain would protect the Jewish community to be set up in Palestine. On his own initiative he traveled in the spring of 1882 to Constantinople, where he tried to convince the Ottoman authorities to permit Jewish settlement in Palestine. However, for various reasons, including the tension that then existed between the Ottoman Empire and Britain because of British intervention in Egypt, he failed to obtain the permission. The Ottoman prohibition against Jews entering Palestine was published on 21 April 1882. A Bilu delegation sent to Constantinople in June 1882 was not successful in getting the decree repealed.[18] The Ottoman authorities tended to allow Jews to settle in Syria instead, but the idea was not accepted.

In an open letter which appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* in March 1882, Karl Netter, a French Jew who had established the Mikveh-Israel agricultural school in Palestine in 1870, pointed out that all attempts to settle in Palestine to that time — whether by German Templars, American Jehovah's Witnesses, or Jews — had failed. The possession of nearly all fertile land by Arabs, the heavy taxes levied by the government, the colonists' lack of agricultural experience and capital all precluded success. In June 1882, the Ottoman government reaffirmed its prohibition against Jewish settlement in Palestine, but permitted it in other parts of the empire. This decision discouraged many Jews from emigrating, while many who tried to reach Jaffa were not permitted to disembark and thus were forced to return to the Russian Empire.

The Biluim, however, were not dissuaded. In May 1882, their organizational center was transferred from Kharkiv to Odessa, where it became a "halfway house" to Palestine. In June a branch was established in Constantinople. After relations with Odessa deteriorated in July, the Constantinople branch became the center of the movement. Failing to obtain a permit,[19] the Biluim became disillusioned with Oliphant, who

[18] The Bilu office's letter to Yaffe, 27 June 1882, *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 130–32.

[19] Negotiations between the Bilu delegates and the Ottoman authorities lasted for over a year. During the negotiations the Bilu delegates were aided by the minister Othman Pasha, who had been a prisoner in Kharkiv during the Turko-Russian War of 1877; he sought the aid of the American ambassador to Constantinople, General Wallace, and of the Jewish Count Komonda, who had influence with the authorities. The rebellion in Egypt against the Ottoman government and the British intervention in the spring of 1882 caused the negotiations to fail. See the memoirs of Mintz in CZA A9/157/1.

had proposed that they settle in another part of the Ottoman Empire. Instead, fourteen of the group set out for Palestine in July. The Biluim feared that if they hesitated any longer, they would lose credibility among Zionist Jews and would strengthen the hand of those who advocated staying in the Russian Empire and coping with Jewish social problems there.[20] They rejected the warnings which came from various sectors, declaring that the fate of the entire Jewish people depended upon their undertaking.[21] Defying the Jewish establishment and dissociating themselves from it, the Biluim proclaimed that they were the children of a people in distress whose salvation lay in immigration to and settlement in Palestine. "We have need now of people devoted to their nation heart and soul, people ready to sacrifice themselves for their nation. Those who see themselves capable of this sacrifice . . . let them prepare themselves at once for the journey."[22]

It was on 3 July 1882 that Minister Tolstoi issued the pronouncement denouncing anti-Jewish rioters, prohibiting the incitement of Jews to emigrate, and appealing to Jews who had already left to return. This move weakened the emigration movement considerably, and many societies organized to promote settlement in Palestine disbanded. The wave of emigration of 1881–1882 had sent about 20,000 Jews to America, but only a few thousand to Palestine. Many of the émigrés did return to the Russian Empire.

The Bilu's general statutes were formulated in September 1882 by the central committee in Constantinople,[23] whereas the internal regulations were drawn up in Palestine about a year later.[24] Two versions of the internal regulations have survived. A third version which combined the internal regulations and the general statutes was transmitted to Baron Rothschild. The three versions, formulated over more than a year's time,

[20] The Bilu office's letter to Yaffe, 27 June 1882; *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 131–32.
[21] Letter from the Bilu's Odessa office, 5 June 1882. See A. Druyanov, ed., *Ketavim le-Toledot Hibbat Tziyon ve-Yishuv Eretz-Israel* (hereafter *Ketavim*), vol. 1 (Odessa, 1919), no. 17. Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer*, p. 220. Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit*, p. 38.
[22] See the letter from the Bilu office to Bilu members in Aleksandrovsk, 27 July 1882. *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 132.
[23] *Ketavim*, vol. 1, no. 30. For a Hebrew translation, see S. Yavnieli, *Sefer ha-Tziyonut*, vol. 2 (Tel Aviv, 1961), pp. 195–97.
[24] A. Druyanov, ed., *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, vol. 1, fasc. 3 (Tel Aviv, 1934), p. 73. The rough draft of the internal regulations in Hebrew that has survived may have been only a proposal. The regulations were also formulated in French, German, and Russian: Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer*, p. 419. It should be noted that Mordecai Reicher, in his emendations to Hisin's journal, confused the general statutes with the internal regulations: Hayim Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad ha-Bilu'im* (Petah Tikva, 1967), p. 15.

reflect the trends of thought among Bilu members which developed in response to changing needs (see Appendix 1). The Bilu society had no corpus of ideological writings per se. What have survived are only the declarations and the regulations. Together they reveal something of the attitudes of the Biluim and of their lives in Palestine.

The general statutes included the following provisions:

(1) A political, economic, and spiritual national renaissance must occur among the Hebrew people in Syria and Palestine (Syria was included in the legitimate territory for Jewish settlement).

(2) Class and religious distinctions should be transcended in order to encourage people "without any distinction of class and religion to band together to implement the [national] idea."

(3) Agencies should be established throughout Europe and America to recruit immigrants and raise funds.

(4) Contributions should be solicited by every member.

(5) Members would be of two kinds: (a) immigrating members, who could only be Jews, and (b) participating members, divided into active, supporting, and honorary members. The immigrating members — i.e., the avant-garde — were to be bachelors or heads of small families, not beyond middle age, capable of physical labor, prepared to immigrate to Syria or Palestine and to perform agricultural work or some other productive labor. Participating members were to make payments to the society.

(6) The society was to have its headquarters in Constantinople and to maintain a branch in Jaffa, thus maintaining the movement's pan-Jewish status. The steering committee directing the movement would not necessarily take part in implementing its goals.

The ideology of the time was apparent in a letter from the Bilu office in Constantinople to Smolenskin in Vienna. As noted above, young Jews who had reacknowledged their national identity considered Smolenskin to be their spiritual father. The Biluim's letter emphasized their rediscovery of their heritage: "We broke the iron wall which separated us from our brethren for so long." Dismissing any hope for the integration of Jews into imperial Russian society, they extolled the socialist revolution, which they advocated by urging Jews to return to the productive occupations of farming and manufacture. The Biluim claimed the role of vanguard in the revolution and rejected any cooperation with the Jewish bourgeoisie, at least for the time being. They also predicted, correctly, that the pogroms would cease and that most Jews would continue to live in their old homes. They emphasized that they did not reject the aspirations of Jewish en-

lightenment out of hand, but that the socialist and the cultural revolution would come about simultaneously.[25]

The general statutes were devoid of practical value because the Bilu office in Constantinople failed to get any real concessions from the Ottoman authorities. None of the agencies which were to be established throughout Europe and America materialized. There was a good deal of friction between the headquarters in Constantinople and the branch in Jaffa; the two gradually drifted apart, until the Constantinople headquarters disbanded. Some members returned to the Russian Empire, and others went on to Palestine. By the end of 1882, it was clear that the future of the Bilu society lay with its members in Palestine and their success in carrying out the organization's ideals.

The internal rules and regulations included the following provisions:

(1) The goal was to "strive for the return of the people of Israel to the land of their ancestral legacy" (signaling a departure from political aspirations and from pan-Jewish ambitions).
(2) Self-sacrifice was taken as a basic principle: "All those who wish to join this society take it upon themselves to work body and soul for the good of the noble cause, and that which they sow by the sweat of their brow and toil of their hands shall they reap in joy."
(3) A clear distinction was made between active members and sympathizers. Active members were to sacrifice all for the cause. Members who settled on the land and secured economic stability no longer belonged to the avant-garde that led the movement. Members would be permitted to become settlers after serving in the avant-garde for three years.

Areas of activity were:

(a) propagandizing as well as screening prospective members;
(b) publishing scholarly and educational literature on current affairs in Palestine;
(c) establishing friendly relations with local Arab communities;
(d) resurrecting Hebrew as a language spoken in everyday life;
(e) bringing craftsmen and professionals to the proposed settlements;
(f) providing spiritual and practical leadership in the settlements (the need for teachers was emphasized);
(g) engaging in skilled labor;
(h) engaging in trade, the profits of which were to be used to found additional settlements;

[25] Letter of the Bilu office in Constantinople to P. Smolenskin, 25 November 1882. CZA A 9/157.

(i) requiring that at least half the society's members be engaged in agriculture at all times (aspirations to establish a rural society remained strong, as did fears that members might adopt a bourgeois way of life).

Provisions relating to the way of life included the following points:

(1) All members were to receive equal wages.
(2) Following their service in the avant-garde members were to settle on the land. All work would be done by members themselves, without Arab help.
(3) A model settlement was to be established around an agricultural school. The students were to learn the local language in order to communicate with the native population, "so that they will know how to live with them and not fight with them." At the same time, the trainees were to learn methods of self-defense. The Jewish history of Palestine would also be taught. The settlement was to be built in a high and prominent location, on good land.
(4) Members had to be men and women no older than 25, without family ties or desire to own private property; their possessions would be owned communally.
(5) After completing the service in the avant-garde, members would be permitted to marry and own private property.
(6) Members must behave according to Jewish religious law.
(7) Leaders would be chosen on a rotating basis.
(8) Only the central directorate could represent the society.

The Biluim sought to create an elitist avant-garde centered around an intelligentsia living communally and sacrificing personal interests for the good of the nation. By setting a personal example and displaying forceful leadership they hoped to reach out to the people. The communal vision was the legacy of the avant-garde alone, not of the entire Bilu society. The leadership intended to create a utopian, productively autarchic, and primarily rural society which strived for cultural and spiritual perfection.

There were differences between the Bilu society's general statutes and its internal regulations. The statutes laid the theoretical foundation for a Jewish state, whereas the regulations dealt with the practical matters of settlement. The former bestowed leadership on the upholders of the society's ideals, and the latter, on the avant-garde who implemented the ideals and served as examples. The internal regulations reflected knowledge of conditions in Palestine: awareness of the Arab problem and of the difficulties in absorbing new immigrants, belief in the need to redeem the land and to resurrect the Hebrew language, and respect for the religious

sensitivities of the majority of Jews living in Palestine. In their expanded version, the regulations omitted the articles prohibiting members from marrying, establishing a family, or owning private property; the term of membership was limited to three years, and political aspirations were downplayed. These changes were introduced to appease the elements to whom the Biluim had appealed for aid, including the Ottoman authorities and Jewish philanthropists in Western Europe. The Biluim wanted to avoid being accused of trying to set up a Jewish political entity independent of the Ottoman Empire or of having revolutionary and nihilistic tendencies.[26]

Who were the spiritual forebears of the Biluim? Clearly, the Bilu regulations were influenced by ideologies then current in the empire's radical circles. The Biluim's memoirs related that some members had been active in *Narodnaia volia.* Their early threats of violence reflected the influence of radical attitudes, especially Bakunin's. There are, however, no traces of Marxist socialism, social democracy, or labor movement ideas, although some Biluim were adherents of utopian socialism in the 1870s,[27] some were attuned to the liberal stance of populism,[28] and some had taken part in the student movements of the 1870s and early 1880s.[29] The Bilu-type commune was, in fact, reminiscent of Vissarion Belinskii's "Holy Union." Before setting up the commune, the Biluim had been organized in a circle (*kruzhok*) resembling the radical students' organizations at the universities.[30] In general, their line of thought followed that of Belinskii's pupils, N. G. Chernyshevskii and N. A. Dobroliubov.[31]

The Biluim spoke of agitation, propaganda, and education in the same breath, and their tactics exemplified Petr Lavrov's concept of peaceful propaganda.[32] The state they envisioned was to be based on the populist concept of villages and would have no cities. The Biluim's most pro-

[26] Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer,* pp. 424–25. On the changes made under pressure from Baron Rothschild's officials, see Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 69.

[27] Menashe Meyerovitch, *Me-ha-Shevil el ha-Derekh* (Tel Aviv, 1936), p. 15, speaks of the influence of Pisarev, Dobroliubov, and Chernyshevskii. The chief Bilu ideologist, Moshe Mintz, claims that the main influence came from Pisarev and the radical press; see the memoirs of Mintz in CZA A9/157/1. Despite these testimonies, it is difficult to distinguish much similarity between that radical ideology and the wide-ranging Bilu platform.

[28] S. V. Utechin, *Russian Political Thought* (New York, 1964), pp. 133, 135.

[29] Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime* (New York, 1974), p. 263.

[30] Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime,* p. 264. See also *Ketavim,* vol. 1, no. 20.

[31] V. C. Nahirny, "The Russian Intelligentsia: From Men of Ideas to Men of Conviction," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (The Hague), July 1962.

[32] Richard Pipes, *Social Democracy and the St. Petersburg Labour Movement: 1885–1897* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 7. Utechin, *Russian Political Thought,* p. 133.

nounced ideological affinity was to Nikolai Mikhailovskii, especially to his ideas about the role of the intelligentsia.[33] The theory of "small deeds" that Mikhailovskii preached in *Notes of the Fatherland* was unmistakably echoed in the Bilu regulations,[34] which required the intelligentsia ceaselessly to aid Jewish settlements in Palestine. In the sacrificing of members' personal rights to common goals, the Bilu regulations followed the ideas of Russian organizations such as "Land and Freedom" (*Zemlia i volia*), especially as set forth in their underground publications *Nachalo* and *Zemlia i volia*.[35]

The Biluim also had Jewish spiritual forebears. The direct ideological influences were the early secular nationalist ideas already mentioned above. They included striving for transformation from a minority to a majority society and from the status of strangers (*chuzhdye*) to that of natives (*korennye*),[36] changing the Jewish people's socioeconomic structure to that of a productive rural society, and reviving Hebrew as a national language. In the last analysis, these goals constituted a kind of utopian socialism, since they were not concerned with rectifying socioeconomic relationships in the existing society, but, rather, with creating a new society based on abstract principles and a utopian vision.

The Bilu movement acquired approximately 500 members throughout the Russian Empire, but it did not succeed in attracting adherents in Western Europe or America. Only about sixty members reached Palestine,[37] and of these less than half settled permanently. An immigration similar in sociological and ideological structure to the Bilu immigration to Palestine came to the United States as the Am Olam movement (see

[33] These have been well summarized by Utechin in *Russian Political Thought:*

> Mikhailovsky came to the conclusion that the intelligentsia, being in the possession of knowledge and at the same time not bound by any particular interest, was the social group that was best suited to produce an ideal with the most universal validity. This ideal Mikhailovsky called Truth, in both the senses which this word has in Russian: truth as verity and truth as justice. (p. 133)

[34] A. Mandel, "Mikhailovskij and His Criticism of Russian Marxism," *American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 14 (1955). Utechin, *Russian Political Thought*, pp. 135–37.

[35] R. Wortman, *The Crisis of Russian Populism* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 23. F. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1966), pp. 558–632. See also the memoirs of Mintz in CZA A9/157/1.

[36] *Ketavim*, vol. 1, no. 17.

[37] The decision to go to Palestine was taken after hope in the American embassy at Constantinople and in Oliphant died. See the letter of the Bilu office in Constantinople to the Bilu office in Odessa, 3 July 1882. *Ketavim*, vol. 1, no. 22. See also *Ketavim*, vol. 1, no. 24, concerning expectations from Count Komunda; and Belkind's letter to Druyanov in Berlin, CZA A 9/157. Also see Mintz's memoirs in CZA A9/157/1.

Appendix 2 for a comparison of the two). Although both movements were centered in the Ukraine, many of those who immigrated to Palestine and remained there did not originate from the Ukraine — the majority were actually from Belorussia.[38] Most who remained were neither highly educated nor leaders of the movement.[39] The hope of establishing a pan-Jewish movement led by the Bilu society gradually died. In 1884, the Hovevei Zion movement was founded in Odessa under the leadership of Dr. Leon Pinsker and Moses L. Lilienblum. The Hovevei Zion groups that were set up throughout the Russian Empire beginning in the early 1880s superseded the Bilu organizations. Very few members of the new groups were willing to adopt the stringent regulations which the Biluim had accepted. Furthermore, the Ottoman authorities issued a series of decrees in 1882–1883 that forbade Jewish immigration to Palestine and thus halted immigration. Those who had succeeded in entering the country encountered obstacles to settlement, and many returned to the Russian Empire.

Many memoirs relate the experiences of the Bilu groups in Palestine.[40] The first group arrived in Palestine in July 1882; its fourteen members were headed by Israel Belkind and Y. Sandomirski, who had not been Bilu coordinators in Constantinople.[41] They came after having rejected the proposal of the American ambassador in Constantinople that they settle in the United States and the suggestion of Oliphant that they go to Syria with only limited means and many promises. The Bilu office in Odessa opposed immigration to Palestine under the circumstances.

[38] The biographies of the fourteen Biluim who remained in Palestine and who were "faithful to their ideals" are in Menashe Meyerovitch, *Bi-Yemei Bilu* (Jerusalem, 1942), pp. 40–46. The members originated from: (1) Belorussia — Israel, Simeon and Fanny Belkind from Lahojsk (Minsk region), S. Hazanov from Zorvitz (Mahilioŭ district), C. Horovitz from Slutsk, I. A. Tsellikhin from Shkloŭ, H. Hisin from Mir; (2) Lithuania — M. Stein from Białystok, I. Drubin from Kretengen (Kaunus), S. Zuckerman from Mikhalishki (Vilnius); (3) the Ukraine — P. Preiser-Hisin from Kerch (Crimea), A. Sverdlov from Poltava, B. Fuchs from Kherson, M. Meyerovitch from Mykolaiv.

It should be kept in mind that the immigrants' birthplaces do not necessarily reflect their attitudes: more pertinent is the society to which they had belonged. For instance, Hisin, Preiser, Tsellikhin, and Drubin, as well as Augutovsky and Rosovsky, were all members of the Moscow society. See Ussishkin, "Ha-Tze'adim," p. 13.

[39] See Hisin's fascinating letter to Z. Dubnow, 18 August 1885, in *Mi-Yamim Rishonim,* 1: 83–86.

[40] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad.* Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit.* Meyerovitch, *Mi-Bilu*; idem, *Bi-Yemei Bilu*; idem, *Me-ha-Shevil*; idem, *Minhat Erev.* Z. D. Levontin, *Le-Eretz Avoteinu,* 2nd ed. (Tel Aviv, 1924).

[41] Belkind's letter to Druyanov, in Shulamit Laskov, *Ha-Biluim* (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 75.

Those who decided to immigrate took upon themselves every risk, including the abandonment of the hope of being the avant-garde for all Jews.[42] After their money ran out, the immigrants went to work at Mikveh-Israel, an agricultural school founded in 1870 by the Parisian Alliance and supported by Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris. The alliánce objected to nationalistic aspirations and recommended immigration to America.

In August, a second group of six members arrived in Palestine. The memoirs of one new arrival, H. Hisin, relate how the group had been greeted in Constantinople by members of the Bilu office there. Hardly any money was left in the till. An argument broke out over whether to buy tobacco or bread with whatever money remained: the majority preferred tobacco. Hisin ridiculed the scene: "Look at the headquarters of those about to become the builders of the Land of Israel. Look at the issues which they disputed." On August 21, he and his group arrived in Palestine. Although the group had visas, they were not permitted to disembark at Jaffa until confirmation arrived from the pasha in Jerusalem. By giving out bribes they passed customs with only cursory inspection. On the day of the second group's arrival at the settlement Hisin noted that only nine of the fourteen members of the first group were working: three were hospitalized (two with malaria, one with sunstroke), one regarded himself as chairman and refused to work, and one young woman stayed home to prepare food. Each member's salary was one franc per day, which did not even cover basic necessities. According to the first group's rules, new arrivals were not to work for their first three days at the settlement. Hisin expressed the newcomers' disappointment at not being allowed to start work immediately. In his diary for 2 September 1882, however, he expressed very different feelings:

> I have not written for ten days: I have been physically incapable of it. Upon my hands are bloodfilled blisters, and I cannot straighten my fingers. In Russia I dreamed of working eight hours a day, and devoting the rest of my time to matters of the mind. But how can one's brain absorb anything when one's back is near to breaking and one is overcome by dreadful fatigue — when all one wants to do on returning from work is to bolt one's supper and fling oneself down and sleep?[43]

He continued by describing his first day of work:

> I raised my hoe and began bringing it down on the earth at all angles. In a little while blisters developed. They burst, and my hands started bleeding. The pain was so excruciating that I had to lay down the hoe. But I immediately felt ashamed of

[42] Laskov, *Ha-Biluim*, pp. 75–76.
[43] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, p. 40.

myself. "Is this how you mean to show that the Jews are capable of manual labor?" I asked myself, "Are you really unable to come through this decisive test?" I took new heart, picked up the hoe again, and despite the piercing pain, hoed in a fury for two solid hours. I then sat down exhausted. After that I could do nothing for a whole day. My back hurt unbearably, my hands were full of cuts and sores. The four morning hours were to me like an eternity.[44]

The work supervisor was a French Jew named S. Hirsch, a former army officer who was then serving as the director of Mikveh-Israel. Hisin described his attitude thus:

. . . lighter tasks . . . are not given to us. We are made to hoe all the time. . . . Hirsch does it intentionally to drive the "foolishness" out of us and make us leave the place. Every day he stands behind the trees, watching, and then suddenly appears at our side. He simply cannot believe that Russian Jews (for whom their French co-religionists have a profound contempt) and intelligent men at that, can, in all seriousness, actually work.[45]

On 26 August 1882, Hisin complained that of the nineteen men, only eight to twelve usually worked: "Were it not for the Arab shopkeepers' belief in our great wealth, we would all have died of hunger. Food is scanty: bread, grapes, and in the evening, bean soup. . . . We drink tea only in the evening; meat is unthinkable. Expenses exceed income. It was proposed that tea and tobacco not be used; then members objected." Hisin continued in the same mocking tone: "What was to be done if men who proclaimed their readiness to die on the altar of the ideal were not able to abstain from tobacco and tea? Why out of nineteen men do only half work? I have, unfortunately, found that the human material is not that about which we dreamed."

Relations among the members quickly deteriorated. The leaders considered themselves superior to everyone else and treated members with disrespect and insolence. Protests met with threats of expulsion from the group; two members were indeed expelled for lack of dedication. Their harsh treatment precipitated both reaction and denunciation. Finally, two factions took form — a monarchistic and a republican.[46] Nevertheless, the members decided to look for land to settle jointly. But they had no money and the headquarters in Constantinople had not obtained the requested charter (*firmān*). The young and inexperienced pioneers com-

[44] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, p. 41.
[45] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, p. 42. Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit*, p. 68.
[46] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, pp. 44–45.

manded no respect from the authorities.[47] Aid was promised, but did not materialize.[48]

While these negotiations were underway Karl Netter arrived in Palestine. Netter had already made public his view on settlement, which reflected the position of the alliance in Paris.[49] The Biluim approached Netter for assistance despite his views because they had nowhere else to turn. Meanwhile, the group's leadership split over the immigrating members' desire for their own representative in the negotiations with Netter; one member resigned and left the group. Netter told the settlers that their work was not yet equal to the Arabs', but he promised to help. His change of heart came about under the influence of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who was to play a central role in attempts to settle Palestine.[50]

All this undermined relations within the group. Hisin wrote that life had become hell. On September 13, a general meeting of all members decided that drinking tea and smoking tobacco would be prohibited. However, the "privileged" members continued to use these items, claiming to purchase them out of their own pockets; the other members became resentful. The domestic situation had become intolerable:

> Our young women refuse to do laundry, as they are easily offended. It is difficult to determine where honesty and truth end, and where dishonesty and lies begin. One member does not want to get up in the morning to work — don't ask if the cause is illness or laziness: another stays home to write a letter or in order to go to town — in other words, for something essential. The result: ten out of twenty-four members are working. . . . My moral sense of balance is also beginning to waver: the ground is being pulled out from under my feet. I do not know how to go out and implement all those truths and beliefs which I have followed thus far.[51]

On October 1, Netter died suddenly and his promises with him. On October 7, six members of the group returned to the Russian Empire. Three went to Jerusalem to found the Shahu group of craftsmen and artisans under the protectorship of Y. M. Pines and Eliezer Ben-

[47] Levontin, *Le-Eretz Avoteinu,* p. 69. In December 1882 hopes for obtaining the charter had not yet been abandoned: see Meyerovitch, *Me-ha-Shevil,* p. 89 (letter from the Constantinople office to Koppelman, 14.12.82).

[48] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 46. No doubt the rumors abroad about what was going on among the Biluim in Palestine caused a loss of support in the ranks of the Hibbat Zion movement in Russia: Meyerovitch, *Me-ha-Shevil,* p. 88 (Eisman's letter to Meyerovitch, 16.1.83).

[49] *Jewish Chronicle,* March 1882. Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 48.

[50] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 49. About the hopes of obtaining help from the alliance, see Meyerovitch, *Me-ha-Shevil,* p. 89 (letter from the Constantinople office to A. Koppelman, 14.12.82).

[51] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 51.

Yehudah.[52] Thus, only three months after the first group's arrival in Palestine, the struggle to settle there was being abandoned.

A baptized Jew by the name of Moses Friedland was then head of the British mission in Jerusalem. The younger Friedland distributed large sums of money to needy new arrivals from the Russian Empire, providing for Sabbath and holiday needs and even for return passage.[53] He offered to assist the Biluim in settling and promised to buy them land, but they rejected his offer. Instead, the members discussed disbanding the group because of their inability to pay their debts. One member objected strongly, however, saying: "It is not the question of our individual existence which is now under discussion, but the exalted ideal of revival whose banner we bear."[54] The group decided to persevere and to seek funds to cover their debts. But the number of members shrank again to fourteen, five of whom — the three young women, the leader, and the errand boy — did not work at all. In late October 1882, the group split irrevocably over the status of the leader: five more members left for Rishon le-Zion and Jerusalem, leaving only nine to carry on.

While the Biluim were struggling to maintain their settlement, other immigrants were active elsewhere. The settlement of Rishon le-Zion was founded in the summer of 1882 by a young man from Kremenchuh named Z. D. Levontin (for a comparison of the Bilu society and Rishon le-Zion, see Appendix 3). Before the outbreak of riots in 1881 he had been a member of a group which called for the distribution of agricultural jobs to Jews throughout the empire. Even after the first riots in Ielysavethrad, Levontin maintained that the solution to the plight of Jews lay in increasing the number of Jewish craftsmen and farmers. As the riots progressed, however, his views changed. Soon he called for migration to Palestine, claiming that anti-semitism would haunt even Jews who immigrated to America or Spain. Levontin considered setting up a model settlement of well-to-do Jews whom he would convince to renounce the luxuries which had become customary among the empire's Jews and to adopt the idea of cooperative settlement.[55] He did not have a Russian academic background, nor was he influenced by radical ideas. The Biluim found Levontin's practical programs acceptable (he had been one of their sympathizers in Palestine) and recognized that his experience and prosperity provided

52 D. Yudelevitch, "The Shahu Group," in *Mi-Yamim Rishonim,* 1: 105, 115.
53 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 53.
54 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 54.
55 See also the Rishon Le-Zion regulations in Yavnieli, *Sefer ha-Tziyonut,* pp. 198–201.

advantages that they had not had. He succeeded in founding a settlement and even managed to persuade Baron Rothschild to support it. The baron, who was aware of the Biluim's problems, proposed that they join Rishon le-Zion. The proposal wrought a welcome, if temporary, change in his officials' attitude towards the Biluim.

With its practical failures, the Bilu society's visions and hopes were declining. At this same time, the society's general statutes, the most problematic in the annals of the organization, were being formulated at the headquarters in Constantinople. Letters of support from Jewish students in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States, as well as collaboration proposals by Zionist youth groups in Romania, seem to have influenced the content of the statutes.[56] The provisions' political and social goals did generate some opposition. Nevertheless, in Constantinople the Biluim proclaimed themselves leaders of the Hovevei Zion movement. They continued to believe that Jewish youth was the main factor that could vitalize the organization and that it could gain the support of wealthy Jews only after establishing a new settlement in Palestine.[57]

The Biluim in Palestine continued to disagree with the leadership in Constantinople, claiming that the latter were squandering the funds of the organization and staying on in Constantinople needlessly. On November 7, after Baron de Rothschild had promised his support, all those who had remained in Constantinople moved to Rishon le-Zion. Their move caused much turmoil in the settlement. Most of the settlers at Rishon le-Zion were observant Jews who were wary of the "heretical" Biluim. The poorer settlers argued that the baron's funds were intended for them alone. Levontin supported the Biluim, but he was soon forced to resign from the leadership of Rishon le-Zion and the settlement passed under the control of the baron's officials. In the meantime, some Bilu leaders had arrived in Palestine with the intent of influencing their comrades to leave Rishon le-Zion.[58] Some members of the group returned to work at Mikveh-Israel, hoping that they could obtain funds with which to buy land for a settlement of their own. The majority of the group remained in Rishon le-Zion and used Rothschild's money. This was in clear violation of the statutes, but need proved stronger than any ideological factor.

As mentioned, another group of Biluim had moved to Jerusalem at the

56 Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer,* pp. 274, 277–78.

57 Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit,* pp. 53–54.

58 Letter of the Bilu office in Constantinople to Koppelman, 14 December 1882, Meyerovitch, *Me-ha-Shevil,* p. 89. Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 71. Levontin, *Le-Eretz Avoteinu,* pp. 68–74.

invitation of the writer Y. M. Pines, originally of Rozhani. Pines was a religious Jew who arrived in Palestine in 1878 as a representative of the committee founded in London by Moses Montefiore to help Jews in Palestine settle on the land. He was to play a central role in the Biluim's settling in Palestine. The society which Pines helped to organize taught craftsmanship and produced items that were marketed in the Russian Empire. In the evenings its members studied Hebrew, history, and Palestinian geography. This activity was in keeping with the Bilu statutes. In time, however, the society became more a source of livelihood than a service to the community.[59] It held on for over two years, during which time its nine Bilu members included some prominent Bilu leaders. Economic hardships and social tensions eventually caused a break-up, however, and some members returned to the Russian Empire or emigrated elsewhere.[60]

In Rishon le-Zion the Biluim were employed in public works, as well as in agriculture on leased land. Hisin related the determination of the Biluim not to take advice from the Arabs who were familiar with the conditions of the country. As a result, they planted crops at the wrong time and lost money.[61] He also wrote of the settlers' clashes with Arab shepherds who persistently trespassed on their fields.[62] The reality of relations with the Arabs seems to have diverged far from the ideology which advocated persuasion. Furthermore, the Biluim's small victories in their conflicts with the Arab shepherds inflated their egos, making them believe that a new type of unafraid Jew was coming into being in Palestine. The quasi-military victories were counterbalanced by failures on the economic and cultural fronts. Hisin observed: "How removed we have become from intellectual activity — we are more proficient with our fists than with our pens."[63] Many were finding communal life oppressive: "we are growing tired of the extreme intimacy, which has turned into crudeness . . . many of us are suffering noticeably from melancholy fatigue."[64] Rothschild's officials treated the settlers rudely: the Biluim considered the money they received to be a loan, whereas the baron viewed it as charity

59 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, pp. 76–78. Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer*, pp. 337–38. For the activities of the group, see its letters to Pines in the summer of 1883, CZA A 109/20.
60 See also Yudelevitch, "The Shahu Group," pp. 105–116; Hisin's letter to Dubnow, *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 83; and Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit*, p. 169.
61 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, pp. 72–73.
62 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, pp. 74–76.
63 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, p. 95. See also Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit*, pp. 39, 162; and S. Ben-Zion, *Bnei Bilu* (Tel Aviv, 1930), p. 75.
64 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, p. 87.

and treated its recipients as his debtors, thus damaging the settlers' self-respect.[65] Even the funds from Hovevei Zion, which saw the Biluim as "pioneers to the youth of the nation,"[66] were delivered by agents (Pines among them) who placed conditions on the contribution. The condition Pines set was that the settlers adopt a religious way of life, to which the majority was essentially agreeable. As Hisin put it: "We strive to be the bearers of culture in a wild country without concerning ourselves with the viewpoints of the people for which we are performing our work — viewpoints which we cannot accept as they are, but for the sake of which we are nevertheless bound to make sacrifices."[67]

In April 1883 the Biluim accepted Pines's leadership. It was difficult for them to recognize the authority of a non-Biluim who came from a different background and set strict new conditions. However, they preferred to submit to a nationalistic Jew sympathetic to their cause than to Rothschild's officials or to one of their own rank. Submission to Pines's authority was also facilitated by pressure from the Hovevei Zion groups back in the Russian Empire. These groups preferred to support the Biluim through Pines, who was well known among them, than to leave the enthusiasts to their youth and inexperience.[68] Pines supported the idea that the Biluim return to Mikveh-Israel until their settlement was established. Thirteen members remained in Rishon le-Zion, whereas seven returned to Mikveh-Israel in April 1883.[69]

In April 1883 Bilu headquarters was transferred from Constantinople to Jerusalem.[70] The move occurred at the time when the Ottoman

[65] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, pp. 91-94. The Biluim were first to publicly disobey the baron's officials. See Meyerovitch, *Minhat Erev*, pp. 46-47; his letter to Hovevei Zion in Russia, Teveth 17 (25 December), 1884. Also see Meyerovitch's letter to the newspaper *Russkii ievrei*, no. 48, 1883; *Minhat Erev*, letter no. 48.

[66] Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer*, pp. 409-410.

[67] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, p. 59.

[68] Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer*, p. 415. Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad*, pp. 91-93, 112, 114-15. Ben-Zion, *Bnei Bilu*, pp. 84-87. See Natanssohn's letters to the Biluim: 22 December 1882, 22 February 1883, 20 Nissan 1883, CZA A 109/20. See also the letter from the Hovevei Zion group in Rostov to the Bilu directorate, 25.1.1884, ibid. See Tzvi Horvitz, "From the Notes of One of the Surviving Biluim," *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, I: 241-42. On the reasons for selecting Pines as head, see also D. Yudelevitch, "The Beginning of Bilu in Palestine," *Ha-Aretz*, 24.7.1932. At the time, hope existed for support from Baron Rothschild, Hirsch, and the alliance. The return of some Biluim to Russia from Palestine severely hurt the image of those who remained; see the letter of D. Gordon to the Biluim, 2.4.1883, CZA A 109/20. Concerning expectations from Rothschild, see also the letter of Constantinovski to Pines, June 1883, CZA A 109/20.

[69] Horvitz, "From the Notes," p. 242.

[70] Reorganizing the Bilu leadership after the departure from the Constantinople center took several months. By April 1883, the center was in Jerusalem, with Pines at

authorities made settlement land in Syria available to the Biluim and they rejected the offer.[71] In the period from April 1883 to March 1884 the members were divided: some remained in Rishon le-Zion to settle there permanently; others worked in Mikveh Israel, suffering deprivation and contempt at the hands of the baron's officials; still others were organized in the Shahu group in Jerusalem. Undoubtedly, without the baron's support the Biluim of Rishon le-Zion and Mikveh-Israel would not have survived.[72]

The members who came from Constantinople, together with those who were already in Jerusalem, drew up the internal regulations described above. These regulations worsened the situation further, even though several provisions had apparently been changed in order to appease Bilu's supporters. Baron de Rothschild refused to back the political ambitions and communal ideals expressed in the regulations and withdrew his support from the Biluim. They, in turn, rejected the baron's patronage because it was predicated on the abandonment of their pan-Jewish aspirations.[73] The baron's attitude was influenced by the rebellion against his officials which took place in Rishon le-Zion. Rothschild demanded that some Biluim be expelled from Rishon le-Zion in retribution; he also cut his support of the group in Mikveh-Israel, claiming that they were "nihilists,"[74] and withdrew it altogether in April 1884. His representative offered to help the Biluim return to the Russian Empire or immigrate to America. The crisis ended in March 1884, with the emigration of seven members (including two leaders). Five of the seven immigrated to America.[75] During 1883–84, more members joined the Biluim in Pales-

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its head. Letters indicate that some committee members lived in Jerusalem and some lived in Jaffa. In the summer of 1883 the members were Liftshitz and Breliavsky from Jerusalem and Leibovitch and Sverdlov from Jaffa. See the Bilu letter to Koppelman, Ellul 19 (21 September), 1883, CZA A 9/157. Bilu still had delegates in Constantinople in the summer of 1883; see the Bilu's letter to Koppelman, Sivan 23 (28 June), 1883, CZA A 9/157. According to Meyerovitch, the center at Constantinople was closed in early 1884. See the letter of Mintz and Lifshitz to the members in Palestine (no date), CZA A 109/20. Meyerovitch, *Me-ha-Shevil,* p. 92. Other sources indicate that the center was closed earlier.

71 See Pines's note on the Biluim (no date), CZA A 109/20.

72 Horvitz, "From the Notes," pp. 242–49.

73 See the letter of the Bilu office in Jerusalem to Koppelman, Sivan 22 (29 June), 1883, CZA A 9/157.

74 Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* pp. 69–70.

75 Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer,* p. 434. The reference is to Jacob Breliavsky and to Mintz. Hisin claims that they emigrated because of their treatment at the hands of the baron's officials. Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 100. See also Ben-Zion, *Bnei Bilu,* p. 90. Horvitz, "From the Notes," pp. 248–49.

tine, most coming from Minsk.[76] The period from April to December 1884 — when the settlement of Gederah was being founded — was especially difficult in the wake of the baron's refusal to support the Biluim in any way.

Pines used funds sent by Hovevei Zion to settle the Biluim.[77] In December 1884, nine members settled on the land; eight joined later. The majority of the settlers were neither members of the first groups who had immigrated to Palestine nor former students.[78] Once their settlement, Gederah, was built near Rishon le-Zion, the history of the Biluim became synonymous with it.

By early 1885, only about twenty of the fifty to sixty original Bilu immigrants to Palestine remained. Many had returned home, and the remainder had dispersed to other countries. Most had become disillusioned with agricultural pursuits and now desired to continue their academic studies. Many also found that nationalistic ideals did not fit in with their personal interests. Some came to Palestine again years later, but generally not to do agricultural work, but to engage in commerce or the professions.[79] Bilu's regulations forbidding the holding of private property and marriage during the first three years of settlement were not observed at Gederah.[80]

The concept of a model settlement was tested in Gederah. Pines refused to admit members who did not observe religious traditions.[81] "He who paid the piper called the tune" and not, as the Biluim had imagined, "he

[76] Dr. Menahem Stein, Y. Mohilinsky, A. M. Cohen, Zuckerman, Lis, Benenson, Hazanov, Leibovitch: see Horvitz, "From the Notes," pp. 244-45. Another immigrant was D. Yudelevitch from Romania.

[77] Bilu kept up ties with Hovevei Zion in Russia. See, for example, a letter of encouragement to Bilu from Hovevei Zion in Vilnius, 22.2.1883, CZA A 9/20; also a letter dated 28.3.1883, CZA A 9/20. About monies sent from Hovevei Zion in Russia for the purchase of Gederah, see the letter of Fuchs, in the handwriting of Pines, *Davar,* 1.4.1938.

[78] Of the first nine Biluim who settled in Gederah, seven — Leibovitch, Lis, Hazanov, Mohilinsky, Mohilevsky, Horvitz, and Zuckerman — were not in the first groups who came to Palestine. They were later joined by Belkind and Hisin, who were from the first group. From the original groups, only Sverdlov and Fuchs remained in Gederah.

[79] Hisin returned as a physician, Yudelevitch became a teacher, and Hertzenstein became a merchant. Drubin and Sverdlov did return as farmers.

[80] Hisin married before the regulations were formulated. Some settlers, like Drubin, returned to Russia, married, and came back to Palestine. Leibovitch, Horvitz, and Fuchs married in 1887. Marriage caused the break-up of the commune; Horvitz, "From the Notes," pp. 241, 244. See also D. A. Leibovitch, "The Colony Gederah," in *Palestine Almanach,* ed. by A. M. Luntz, vol. 6 (Jerusalem, 1900). On the envy generated by the marriages, see also S. Ben-Zion, *Yishud Gederah* (Tel Aviv, 1930), pp. 53-54.

[81] Hisin, *Mi-Yoman Ehad,* p. 116.

who advocated sound ideals." The Biluim received their major support from Hovevei Zion, which had organized throughout the Russian Empire in 1884.[82] This dependence made Gederah a pawn in the movement's internal strife. The traditionalists tended to support Petah Tikva, whose inhabitants observed religious traditions, whereas the enlightened Jews generally supported Gederah, whose inhabitants had a liberal outlook. The view of Gederah as a model settlement was held not only by its inhabitants, but also by the leaders of Hovevei Zion, which explains their great sensitivity to what was happening there. As a result, any argument between the settlers was publicized at great length in the Russian Jewish press, and every purchase of horse or mule and every plowing and reaping received extensive coverage.

Still another problem inherent in the settlers' relations with the authorities was the strained relations between the Russian and Ottoman empires. The problem had previously been solved by obtaining a West European nationality — German, Austrian, or English — which gave the bearer protection from a consul who benefited from the Ottoman Empire's economic system of capitulations. This was now prohibited, for the authorities forbade the settlers to purchase land or build houses. Building permits were obtained only in May 1888, about three and a half years after the land was settled,[83] and then only by bribing local officials and registering the land under the name of a West European citizen. A greater problem was the pasha in Jerusalem, at this time an Ottoman patriot who hated Europeans, oppressed the consuls, and refused bribes. The pasha suggested that the settlers accept Ottoman citizenship. The Biluim were willing, in theory, to become Ottoman citizens, but they feared that their situation would become like that of the Arab fellaheen, who, although Ottoman citizens, were severely exploited by the tax system and local officials. The regime, for its part, feared that the settlers intended to purchase land and in time would proclaim their own state.

Gederah's economic condition became desperate. The settlers failed in their first attempts at agriculture. The grain harvest, dependent on the sparse rainfall, was pitifully small. Nevertheless, most of the taxes the authorities levied were based on the yield, which the tax collector assessed at inflated rates. The fellaheen actually paid one-fourth of their harvest in tax to the government. The tax levied on Gederah was sometimes higher than its entire annual crop.[84] The leaders of Hovevei Zion sent K. Wissot-

[82] See the letter from Hisin to Dubnow, 25.2.1886, *Mi-Yamim Rishonim,* 1: 89.
[83] See the letter from Hisin to Dubnow, 25.2.1886, *Mi-Yamim Rishonim,* 1: 89.
[84] Horvitz, "From the Notes," pp. 253–54.

sky of Moscow to Palestine to examine the situation. Wissotsky suggested to the Biluim that they choose a manager, and when they refused, wrote a vicious report urging that the group be dispersed and the settlers be hired out. But Hovevei Zion rejected the proposal.[85]

The miserable situation in Gederah encouraged the Arabs from surrounding villages to harass the settlers and to trespass on their land. Only between seven and ten men lived at Gederah in 1885, and they were forced to work by day and guard their fields by night. Incidents similar to those which had happened in Rishon le-Zion occurred, and the small group decided to organize a countermove against the Arabs. After a fierce encounter which ended with government intervention, the Arabs ceased their provocations.[86] But the economic problems remained, and the destitute settlers were obliged to look for outside work. Hisin, who became a coachman for pilgrims traveling from Jaffa to Jerusalem, described his humiliation at his own economic predicament and that of the *yishuv* who lived on subsidies received from Hovevei Zion.[87] After five years Hisin decided to leave Palestine, vowing to return only when he was able to earn a respectable living. Years later, in 1904, after having studied pharmacy in Kharkiv and medicine in Berne, he returned as a physician.

Hovevei Zion's support was not effective, partly because the organization would not follow Rothschild's methods.[88] Its money came from the public and was not used as an instrument of pressure, as Rothschild's had been. Furthermore, Hovevei Zion did not have a network of officials who could run the settlement efficiently. Gederah, theoretically the Biluim's "model settlement," was, in fact, Palestine's most wretched commune during this time. In addition, although Rothschild did not take Gederah under his wing, he still wanted to intervene in its affairs.[89] Since the members of Hovevei Zion needed the baron's cooperation, they yielded to his dictates: Gederah was obliged to expel settlers who had opposed Rothschild's bureaucratic system.[90] When the settlement finally reached a measure of self-sufficiency (water was not found there until March 1889),

85 Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit*, p. 173.
86 Belkind, *Di Ershte Shrit*, p. 191.
87 See the letter from Hisin to Dubnow, 4.6.1886, *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 133.
88 See the letter from Hisin to Dubnow, 25.2.1886, *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 89.
89 After Moyal died, Hovevei Zion agreed to appoint Rothschild's representative, Hirsch, as supervisor of Gederah. This appointment lasted about two years, until Pines was reinstated as the leader of the Gederites and received the recognition of Hovevei Zion. Even the well at Gederah was dug at Rothschild's expense; Horvitz, "From the Notes," p. 252.
90 On Mohilinsky's expulsion from Gederah, see Israel Klausner, *Mi-Katowitz ad Basel* (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. 206–207.

the human resources needed to make it a model colony were no longer there.[91]

As noted above, Gederah became the focus of conflict between enlightened Jews and traditionally religious Jews. Although the two groups cooperated in the establishment and leadership of Hovevei Zion, they could not agree on the nature of the movement's settlement in Palestine. The enlightened Jews claimed that Hovevei Zion should not interfere in the private lives of its settlers in Palestine, whereas the traditionalists denied that a secular Jewish *yishuv* could be established in Palestine. The traditionalists were under the influence of the old yishuv, which adhered zealously to tradition. In December 1883, its leaders issued a proclamation asserting that Palestine could not absorb masses of immigrants and that the immigrants "do not follow Torah and learning... their goal is not to bring redemption near but rather to drive it, God forbid, further away."[92] Special reference was made to the Biluim, some of whom were maintaining a free lifestyle in Jerusalem.

The Biluim did have their champions, among them Y. M. Pines and Wissotsky,[93] who claimed that the group did, in fact, observe religious traditions. An agreement was reached with the leaders of Hovevei Zion in Odessa that the settlers be required to adhere to a traditional lifestyle.[94] The leader of the religious faction in Hovevei Zion, Rabbi Samuel Mohilever of Białystok, favored the settlers of Petah Tikva, both because most of them came from his native town and because he had no doubts about their religiosity.[95] In any case, the traditionalists of Hovevei Zion demanded that the free-living Bilu settlement be disbanded: "it is better to spend a few thousand francs and let them return home abroad, and then send 'kosher' settlers to Gederah,"[96] wrote one rabbi among the leaders. The traditionalists finally appeased their fears by appointing a religious inspector over Gederah's residents.[97] They refused to cooperate any further with Hovevei Zion, however, "until we purify the land of these

[91] See the letters from Hisin to Dubnow of 25.2.1886, 4.6.1888, 31.8.1888. *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 88–89, 133, 134–35.

[92] *Ketavim*, vol. 3 (Tel Aviv, 1932), no. 1186.

[93] Wissotsky reversed his original opinion. See Klausner, *Be-Hit'orer 'Am*, pp. 337–38, 410–11, 414–15, 418–20, 430–31, 433, 435, 464. *Ketavim*, vol. 1, no. 309, and vol. 2, no. 712. Klausner, *Mi-Katowiz*, 1: 95, 152–53.

[94] See *Ketavim*, vol. 2, nos. 627, 663, 698, 703, 704, 712, 739.

[95] Klausner, *Mi-Katowiz*, 1: 95, 152–53.

[96] From Berlin to Pinsker: *Ketavim*, vol. 2, no. 679, 699. From Mohilever to Pinsker: *Ketavim*, vol. 2, nos. 714, 724.

[97] I. L. Fishman, ed., *Sefer Shemuel* (Jerusalem, 1923), pp. 76–77, 93–96, 80–81, 88.

transgressors."[98] Palestine was their Holy Land, and no settlement could be allowed to profane its holiness.[99] Hovevei Zion's secular leaders held that imposing traditional ways on the settlers would alienate enlightened Jews from the movement,[100] and asserted that the movement was not responsible for the personal behavior of its members.[101] The two sides presented their positions in terms of Gederah's settlers: the free-thinkers argued that Hovevei Zion was a nationalistic movement which should not interfere with the religious beliefs of its members, whereas the traditionalists claimed that the movement aimed at spiritual redemption and thus required regulation of the settlers' personal lives.[102] In the end, however, all agreed that it was inconceivable to expel from Palestine the Biluim who had dedicated themselves to the good of the yishuv.[103]

In the end, the members of the Hovevei Zion recognized the basic validity of the traditionalists' demands. In the summer of 1887, they appointed Pines religious supervisor over the residents of Gederah; he added this duty to his responsibilities as administrator of Gederah and secretary of the Hovevei Zion office in Jaffa. Pines did succeed in persuading the Gederites to attend the synagogue and to stop working on Sabbath eve. He also gained the movement's support for the expulsion of anyone refusing to accept a religious way of life.[104]

If at the beginning of our discussion of the rise of the Jewish national movement in the Russian Empire, the secular element played a leading role, at its conclusion the religious element becomes prominent. Although the religious and secular elements continued to coexist within the Zionist movement, they were already in disagreement over the desired character of Jewish national society, and so they have remained to this day. A large portion of the political crises in the state of Israel have their roots in such disagreements. As for the Biluim, it is clear that their ideology did not withstand the hardships of reality. From the outset, the idea that they could furnish the ideology and the personal example for a national revival while others supplied their means of subsistence was

98 *Ketavim*, vol. 2, no. 699.

99 *Ketavim*, vol. 2, no. 727.

100 Moshe Lilienblum, *Derekh La'avor Golim* (Warsaw, 1899), p. 119. *Ketavim*, vol. 2, nos. 702, 735.

101 *Ketavim*, vol. 2, no. 721.

102 *Ketavim*, vol. 2, no. 709.

103 *Ketavim*, vol. 2, nos. 714, 718.

104 *Ketavim*, vol. 2, nos. 989, 756. For proof that the Biluim eventually accepted the traditionalists' demands, see Meyerovitch's sermon on observing tradition given years later before leftists in the Kibuzim: Meyerovitch, *Me-ha-Shevil*, pp. 49, 79. Meyerovitch's personal ties with Rabbi S. Mohilever had had their effect: ibid., p. 86.

unrealistic. An ideology with proponents who lack the means to implement it cannot hope to become influential.

If the Biluim did not withstand the test of their own ideology, why did their undertaking become a symbol of Jewish revival in Palestine? The answer must be that Gederah gradually became a thriving settlement. Also, with the accelerated secularization of the Jewish national movement from the early 1890s, the influence of the traditionalists on the movement weakened. Control of affairs in Palestine shifted from the old yishuv, whose raison d'etre was purely religious, to the new yishuv, which justified its existence on the basis of modern secular nationalism. Gederah and the Biluim came to symbolize Zionist settlement at its beginnings and in its entirety. Many of their socialist utopian concepts were not realized, and many of the original pioneers abandoned the effort. Ultimately, however, the ideology did adapt to reality and the pioneers' undertaking flourished.[105]

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APPENDIX 1: A COMPARISON OF THREE VERSIONS OF THE BILU SOCIETY'S INTERNAL REGULATIONS

The internal regulations of the Bilu society were probably formulated by M. Mintz, Y. Breliavsky, and A. D. Lifshitz in the summer of 1883, after Mintz and Lifshitz had arrived in Palestine and headquarters had been transferred from Constantinople to Jerusalem. They were a rewording of a draft which had probably been written in June 1883.[1] The draft had been stricter about the terms of membership: a member could not hold private property; all the goods, wages, and money he received would become communal property; and he had the right-of-say only after a full year of membership. The second version of the regulations,[2]

[105] Ben-Zion, *Bnei Bilu,* introduction.

[1] It is not clear how decisive Mintz's influence was in formulating the internal regulations. Mintz, a prominent ideologist of Bilu, did draw up the general statutes. According to Shulamit Laskov, Mintz arrived in Jerusalem at the end of July or the beginning of August 1883 (other sources claim that he arrived in May: see, e.g., Horvitz, "From the Notes," p. 242; see also Belkind's letter to Druyanov written from Berlin in 1914, CZA A9/157/1). Evidently Mintz did not serve in the Bilu leadership in Jerusalem. See the letter from Mintz to Druyanov, 1928, CZA A 9/157/1; and a letter from the Bilu leadership to Koppelman, Ellul 19 (21 September), 1883, CZA A9/157. Mintz did, however, chair all meetings dealing with the formulation of the regulations. See the memoirs of Horvitz, p. 248.

[2] This version was found in a manuscript written by Pines: CZA A 109/20.

which was probably drafted in the winter of 1883, already bears Pines's imprint.

Both versions of the regulations were written in ornate literary language and deliberately underplayed the society's political aspirations. Both presented the Bilu as the vanguard of Jewish rebirth in the historical homeland and viewed the settlement of Jews on the land as conditional to their social and spiritual redemption. Neither mentioned Jewish settlement in Syria. The second version claimed Bilu's authority over everything linked with the social rebirth of world Jewry (sections 2–4, 58). The phraseology of the enlightenment echoes throughout, for example: "The society should see to the spreading of wisdom and enlightenment throughout the tenets of Jacob" (sections 6, 10, 14–15). Both versions refer to a model settlement which would serve as the center of guidance and direction for the society and include an agricultural school (sections 10, 11, 13).

The regulations distinguish between three types of members, the distinctions being similar, in general, to those of previous regulations. *Assistant members* were all those who offered assistance of any kind to the society (section 19). *Actual members* were to be single youths of 18 to 28 years of age who had a general education. They were considered the avant-garde, "ready to perform their labor with immense spirit and vigorous courage, and offer themselves as sacrifices upon the high places of Zion" (sections 20, 22–25, 27–28), and they were to live in a commune based on full equality (sections 42–43). *Honorary members* were actual members who had finished their term of service and were to be settled on the land by the society (sections 21–31). The society was to be governed by only its actual members (section 29).

The society's administration was outlined at some length (sections 44–53). Actual members were to elect directors for a term of six months (sections 44, 70) whose decisions on all matters were binding (section 44). The society retained the right to guide honored members in the process of settlement and to mobilize them at any time (sections 33–37). The society stipulated that at least half the settlers must work the land, while the others could choose another type of productive labor (section 41). The company could also, at its own expense, send members to study "any learning or science" in Europe (section 74). The society's area of settlement included the East Bank of the Jordan River (section 76).

The third version of the regulations, written in French, was sent to the Baron Rothschild in February 1884. It derived from drafts in Hebrew and Russian which have also survived.[3] The differences between the first two versions and the third are apparent in the setting forth of the society's aims. The regulations sent to the baron emphasized the overall national aspirations of the Bilu society, but gave political aspirations little prominence (section 1). Syria was included in the territory for the national idea, although the suggestion had originally met with mem-

[3] A summary of Bilu's history was written for Baron Rothschild's benefit: see CZA A 9/157. The statutes were also translated into French: CZA K 2/14. For a Hebrew version, see CZA A 109/20. The French translation is dated November 1883, but Horvitz claimed that it was sent to Rothschild at the beginning of February 1884: "From the Notes," p. 249. He also claimed that the regulations were drawn up at the request of the baron's agent on 15 October 1883, but there is a Russian version dating to September 1883.

bers' opposition. The tendency was to be flexible toward Ottoman policies, and the outlook was toward Jews living in Palestine (sections 2, 5, 7–15). This adhered to the baron's wish to promote the productivity of Jews already living in Palestine, rather than to encourage the immigration of more Jews.

The plan of action outlined in the third version is similar to that of the other two: i.e., forming an organization, creating a model settlement, conducting propaganda, building new settlements, educating Jews in Palestine, gaining legal recognition for the settlements from Ottoman authorities (section 16). Bilu's educational aims generally received greater emphasis in the third rather than in previous two versions (section 5). Avant-gardist aspirations were to be confined to the activities of the central colony, which was to be organized as a communal cooperative. The classification of members was somewhat different: *supporters* gave the society moral or financial help; *active members,* comparable to the previous versions' actual members, were the most important to the society. Like the first two versions, the third expected this group to serve for three years. The term and obligations of service were identical with those given above. This version also has a category of *honorary members,* which included active members who had discharged their obligations as well as those with their own means (the latter category was not clearly set forth in the other two versions). The central directorate was charged with supervising the society's activities, managing its financial affairs, and maintaining contacts with other organizations colonizing Palestine. It was also to conduct propaganda, to assist colonies in need, and to purchase land. Despite the similarity between the third version and the previous two, which indicates that they were composed in the same spirit and at about the same time, the third was somewhat distinctive. Its provisions, designed to appeal to the baron, did not succeed in gaining his support, however. Another idea raised in 1883 during the struggle to gain a foothold in Palestine was the founding of a shepherds' settlement; a constitution for it was drafted,[4] but the idea was later abandoned.

APPENDIX 2: A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE BILU SOCIETY AND THE AM OLAM MOVEMENT

The Am Olam ("Eternal people") movement took form in the Ukraine at about the same time as the Bilu was being organized.[5] The foremost distinction between them was that Bilu advocated immigration to Palestine, whereas Am Olam fostered immigration to the United States. But their similarities were much greater than their differences, as a comparison shows.[6]

[4] See CZA 109/20.

[5] On the Am Olam movement, see A. Menes, "Die Am Olam Bewegung," *Geschichte fon der Yidischer Arbeter Bewegung in die Fereinike Staten* 2 (1945): 203–228; also Hassia Tortal, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," *He'avar* 10 (1963): 124–43. Am Olam was founded in May–June 1881, whereas Bilu was founded in February 1882.

[6] Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 132–33, 143.

Both movements were founded by young people who rebelled against tradition and adhered in some fashion to the populist and socialist ideas then dominant among university students in the Russian Empire.[7] Both arose in reaction to the pogroms of 1881. Their founders were part of an avant-gardist intelligentsia which hoped to lead a social revolution of the Jewish masses.[8] The movements flourished in the same locales,[9] and they provided options to the same group of young people.[10] Both accepted to some measure the ideas of Peretz Smolenskin. But they added to his nationalistic views their own utopian socialist ones,[11] so that their national aspirations took on communal utopian socialist aims.[12] Both movements wanted to transform Jewish society into an agrarian rural community and to prove that Jews could engage in "productive" occupations.[13]

Am Olam suffered from the disparity between its cosmopolitan socialist aspirations and its nationalist goals. In Bilu, socialist aspirations took on a predominantly nationalist direction which avoided such conflict.[14] Both movements had manifestly political goals: Bilu aimed toward founding a Jewish state in Palestine, and Am Olam toward founding a Jewish canton or state in the United States.[15]

Am Olam did not espouse any national cultural aims (such as the revival of

7 Both movements were criticized by the traditional Jewish community for their free ways. Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," pp. 217, 221.

8 Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 131, 142. See also the letter from Fuchs to the leaders in Jerusalem in 1882, *Davar*, 1.4.1931. The ideology expressed in both statutes was to guide future generations.

9 Am Olam was centered in Odessa, whereas Bilu was based first in Kharkiv and then in Odessa. Both movements had many supporters in Mykolaiv. The leaders of Bilu were mostly from Belorussia or Lithuania, whereas those of Am Olam came mostly from the Ukraine. Am Olam existed predominantly in the Ukraine: branches were founded in Kiev, Kremenchuh, Mykolaiv, Smila, Balta, and Vilnius. Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," p. 129.

10 A. Harcavi, *Prakim Mehayai* (New York, 1935), p. 34. Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 132–33, 135–36. See the entries for 1.4.1882, 2.3.1882, 11.3.1882. *Ketavim*, vol. 1, no. 27.

11 The Am Olam movement adopted its name from an article by Smolenskin: Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," p. 125. The Bilu society sought Smolenskin's support, but apparently did not receive it. See the letter from the Bilu office in Constantinople to Smolenskin, 25.11.1882, CZA A 9/157.

12 Laskov, *Bi-Yemei Bilu*, p. 25; Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," pp. 218, 220, 221, 223; Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," p. 130.

13 Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," pp. 206, 214, 224. Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 130–31, 137, 140.

14 Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 130, 135, 141. Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," pp. 213–14, 231–36. In both movements some tension existed between the "intelligentsia" and the "non-intelligentsia," but in Am Olam it was much greater. In some places, as in Vitebsk, the factions had separate groups: Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 129–30; Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," p. 213. The founders of both Bilu and Am Olam came from traditional backgrounds and underwent secularization and "haskalah" before forming their movements. They were joined by young people from various social backgrounds — tradesmen, clerks, and storekeepers; Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," pp. 206–212, 214.

15 Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," p. 205. Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 139–40.

Hebrew) as did Bilu.[16] Both movements eventually showed a great gap between their goals and their accomplishments. Their fates were not, in the end, determined by their founding organizations in the Russian Empire.[17] Both movements wrestled with members' protests about the hardships of manual labor.[18] Both Bilu and Am Olam set up craftsmen's communes when their agricultural settlements faltered.[19] The ideologies of both collapsed once they were put to the test.[20]

The Am Olam movement had a much wider following than did the Bilu, and its colonizing activities were more extensive.[21] However, the Bilu movement had a greater impact on history. Its new settlements in Palestine had successors, whereas Am Olam's efforts in the United States are largely forgotten.[22] Jewry in the United States was uninterested in the socialist political and national aspirations of Am Olam, and this attitude resulted in the disbanding of the movement and its obliteration from the collective memory of American Jews.[23]

APPENDIX 3: A COMPARISON OF THE BILU SOCIETY WITH RISHON LE-ZION

During the time when the Biluim were coming to Palestine, other groups of immi-

16 Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," p. 205.

17 The leaders of Bilu either did not go to Palestine or stayed there only briefly: Laskov, *Bi-Yemei Bilu*. See also Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," p. 131.

18 Harcavi, *Prakim Mehayai*, pp. 49–50, 54. The theorists found it especially difficult to live according to their ideas. See also A. Kahane, *Bletter fon Mein Leben*, vol. 2 (New York, 1926), p. 84. About the Biluim, see Hisin's letter to Dubnow, *Mi-Yamim Rishonim*, 1: 83–86; also Hisin's letter to Dubnow of 25.2.1886, ibid., p. 88.

19 The Biluim founded the commune "Shahu" in Jerusalem, and Am Olam founded communes in New York: Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," p. 225; Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 134, 137.

20 Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," p. 230.

21 It is difficult to ascertain what Jewish immigrants who came to America in the 1880s were linked with Am Olam. Some left the Russian Empire under other auspices and later joined Am Olam. Some immigrated as Am Olam members but dispersed upon arrival. During the 1880s, Am Olam set up about twenty Jewish colonies with about 1,400 settlers. One account claims that during the first year of immigration, 1882–83, about a thousand Jews affiliated with Am Olam reached the United States: Laskov, *Bi-Yemei Bilu*, p. 25. Another mentions a smaller number: Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," p. 211. After 1887, however, not one colony associated with Am Olam survived, although some Am Olam members did join other colonies, such as Woodbine or Vineland, which existed for many more years.

The identity of the Biluim and the precise date of their arrival is also difficult to determine. Meyerovitch spoke of fourteen Biluim who survived in Palestine, including those like Hisin who left the country and later returned. Yudilevitch identified about fifty Biluim in Palestine, but included men like M. Ussishkin and Z. D. Levontin who did not regard themselves as such; see his article in *Ha-Aretz*, 24.7.1932, which mentions eighteen Biluim who stayed in Palestine.

22 Although Am Olam did not contribute to the agrarianism of Jews in the United States, it did improve their living conditions. See Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," pp. 142–43.

23 Menes, "Die Am Olam bewegung," p. 222. Tortel, "Tenu'at 'Am Olam," p. 136.

grants — some from the Ukraine — came as well. A group of such immigrants founded the colony of Rishon le-Zion. Certain similarities existed between the Biluim and the founders of Rishon le-Zion. Both groups wanted to head the colonization of Palestine. The leaders of Rishon le-Zion were Zalman David Levontin from Kremenchuh and Yoseph Feinberg from Simferopol'. They called their organization "Va'ad Halutzei Yesod ha-Ma'alah" ("Committee of founding pioneers"). Levontin was sent to Palestine by associations organized in the Russian Empire at the time of the pogroms whose purpose was to purchase land in Palestine.

The constitution of Vaad was much less ambitious than that of Bilu. It did not set forth any nationalistic aspirations, but confined itself to assuring aid to all who wanted to immigrate to Palestine. Vaad took upon itself the exploration of conditions for settlement in Palestine and of the possibilities for the purchase of land, and it pledged to draft a constitution for future colonies. It favored the revival of the Hebrew language for everyday use, but it did not hold the far-reaching cultural aspirations of Bilu. According to its constitution, the Vaad accepted as members delegates of the settlement associations who showed "a love of peace, a mild disposition and moderation in judgment" (section 11).[24]

The actual achievement of Vaad was the founding of Rishon le-Zion in the summer of 1882.[25] The settlement's statutes were more far-reaching than the association's.[26] They called for being a model for future Jewish immigrants, encouraging settlement in Palestine, rebuilding the Jewish nation there, and helping establish new colonies. Members were to work not only for the benefit of Rishon le-Zion, but for the settlement of Palestine as a whole. They were required to lead a traditional way of life (the stipulation was probably added under pressure from Palestine's established, predominantly religious Jewish population). The statutes distinguished between two categories of members: *citizens* were the original founders who worked the land, and *settlers* were newcomers who arrived thereafter. Settlers could become citizens after three years if they engaged in productive work. The colony's directorate was chosen at a general meeting. Service to the colony was to be performed cooperatively.

The statutes of Rishon le-Zion did not contain the avant-gardist ideals of Bilu, and the founders had no pretensions of leading such a movement. The Palestinian reality, however, was far more auspicious to Rishon le-Zion than to Bilu. The few cooperative provisions in the Rishon constitution were quickly nullified because of the limited means of the settlers.[27] In 1883 Baron Rothschild extended his patronage over the settlement and its management was, in effect, taken over by his

24 *Ketavim*, vol. 1, no. 12.

25 The ten founders were Z. H. Levontin, P. Heisman, and Levi Eisenband of Mykolaiv; Z. D. Levontin, Y. L. Hankin, and R. Yudelevitch of Kremenchuh; Yosef Feinberg of Simferopol'; the brothers E. M. Freiman and Y. P. Freiman of Warsaw; and Z. Avramovitch of St. Petersburg. See E. M. Freiman, *Rishon le-Zion* (Jerusalem, 1907), p. 1.

26 Freiman, *Rishon le-Zion*, pp. 3–9.

27 The land was divided according to investment. Freiman gives his reasons for withdrawing from the cooperative in *Rishon le-Zion*, pp. 10–12.

representatives (the founding directorate departed).[28] Despite their limited aspirations — or, perhaps, because of them — the founders of Rishon le-Zion were much more successful settlers than the Biluim. Rishon le-Zion did absorb some Biluim who accepted the baron's patronage, although this was against their original principles.[29] The settlers of Rishon le-Zion succeeded agriculturally before any other contemporary settlement in Palestine, but their original goal of serving as a model for other colonies was not achieved. The men who founded the settlement left it,[30] as had the founders of the Bilu settlement. Thus, the societies' ideas were realized not by those who originated them, but by those who chose to live by them.

28 Freiman, *Rishon le-Zion*, p. 16.
29 Freiman, *Rishon le-Zion*, p. 17.
30 Freiman, *Rishon le-Zion*, pp. 15, 17, 20. Only four of the ten founders remained four years after the settlement was founded. Only seven of the seventeen signers of the first version of the regulations remained.

ANATOMY OF A LITERARY SCANDAL: MYXAJL' SEMENKO AND THE ORIGINS OF UKRAINIAN FUTURISM

OLEH S. ILNYTZKYJ

I

Мене не знає історія.
М. Семенко

In 1930, sixteen years after Futurism first appeared in Ukrainian literature and only months before it was compelled to disband, an observer said the following about the movement:

Today we still lack a single study, nay, a single serious article which would objectively describe the role of Futurism in the literary process of the Soviet Ukraine. In addition there are certain literary facts that remain unexplained, and many materials are inaccessible. Of these some are, even today, bibliographical rarities (e.g., *Katafalk mystectva*) and others are in manuscript form and remain in the hands of those comrades who in one way or another were connected to the Futurist movement. Naturally, much of this material has already been lost. . . .[1]

Almost fifty years later, this statement remains valid. Of the scattered studies published after 1930 which mentioned Ukrainian Futurism, few can be regarded as "serious" and fewer still as "objective." Not only do "certain literary facts" about Ukrainian Futurism "remain unexplained," but many require reassessment. Moreover, access to materials is immeasurably more limited now than in 1930. Today Futurist journals and publications are easily among the rarest materials in Ukrainian literature. Their very titles are considered exotic.[2] So neglected is the movement that

[1] M. Kačanjuk, "Materijaly do istoriji futuryzmu na radjans'kij Ukrajini," *Literaturnyj arxiv* (Xarkiv), bks. 1–2, 1930, p. 186.

[2] O. Slisarenko, M. Ljubčenko, and M. Semenko, *Al'manax tr'ox* (Kiev, 1920); *Semafor u majbutnje: Aparat panfuturystiv* (Kiev), 1922, no. 1 (May); *Katafalk iskusstva: Eženevnyj žurnal pan-futuristov-destruktorov* (Kiev), no. 1, 13 December 1922. The latter journal was published in both Ukrainian and Russian; future issues were to appear in Yiddish, but the publication ceased with the first issue. *Žovtnevyj zbirnyk panfuturystiv* (Kiev), 1923; *Gong kommunkul'ta*: Orhan asociaciji Komunkul'tovciv (Kiev and Xarkiv), May 1924; *Neolif: Literaturno-vyrobnyčyj žurnal livoho*

identification of many of its adherents is virtually impossible. Even a famous — or, as some would have it, infamous — name in Ukrainian Futurism evokes virtually no literary associations.

There are several explanations for this state of affairs. Even during its heyday, in the 1920s, Ukrainian Futurism was eyed with suspicion in both political and literary circles. Unlike Russian Futurism, which rose on a wave of Formalist interests, the Ukrainian movement's growth coincided with the receding of the wave, which in the Ukraine was feeble even at its peak. The Marxist and sociological methods that dominated the Ukrainian literary scene had little sympathy for Futurism, and they ensured that right up to the end of the decade Futurism would not receive serious attention. What critical opinion did exist about Ukrainian Futurism sprang mainly from literary interorganizational conflicts. In these, Futurism had virtually no allies or supporters; it was attacked by groups that resisted the Party line in literature (such as VAPLITE) as well as by those that toed it (such as VUSPP). Consequently, the body of critical thought that developed in the 1920s was negative and partisan.

If objective analysis of Futurism was difficult in the 1920s, it became impossible in the 1930s. After the dissolution of literary organizations and the centralization of Soviet letters, Futurism continued to be one of the primary targets of the Party's apparatus. Under Stalin, Futurists came to share the familiar and tragic fate of all the "unorthodox." Those who survived Stalin's purges were, understandably, loath to recall — much less write about — their earlier "follies." Under such circumstances the study of Ukrainian Futurism came to a halt. Were it not for the occasional invective in a literary history, memory of the phenomenon might have faded completely.[3]

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fronta (Moscow), 1925, no. 1; *Hol'fštrom: Zbirnyk I, litsektora ASKK* (Xarkiv, 1925); M. Bažan, M. Semenko, and G. Škurupij, *Zustrič na perexresnij stanciji: Rozmova tr'ox* (Kiev, 1927); *Bumerang* (Xarkiv), 1927, no. 1; *Nova generacija: Bahato iljustrovanyj ščomisjačnyj žurnal novoho mystectva* (Xarkiv), 1927–1930. *Avangard-al'manax: Kyjivs'koji hrupy proletars'kyx mystciv "Novoji generaciji"* (Xarkiv), 1929–1930. Futurists were also widely published in such "establishment" journals as *Červonyj šljax* and *Žyttja j revoljucija*, and they exerted considerable influence on others, such as *Universal'nyj žurnal, Mystectvo, Šljaxy mystectva, Barykady teatru, Globus, Vsesvit*, and *Žurnal dlja vsix*.

[3] The following is indicative of the way Futurism was treated between the 1930s and early 1950s. At the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviet Writers, I. Kulyk stated: "The reconstruction of former Futurists, the so-called New Generationists, is transpiring very feebly. [Take] for example, M. Semenko. We have heard presentations in which he cultivated vulgarity, calculated awkwardness [and] defended the publicistic form and language of his own works and those of others." Cf. "Dopovid' na peršomu

After Stalin's death, when the liquidated and the silenced were gradually reinstated in the public eye, Ukrainian Futurists were kept in the background. As a group, they benefited far less from the "Thaw" than did adherents of other literary movements and schools.[4] However, by degree, through the fifties, sixties, and early seventies, Futurism became a mentionable topic. The literary histories of these decades referred to it often and some contained useful information.[5] Concurrently, a few noteworthy articles appeared which gingerly defended the movement and deplored its long consignment to oblivion.[6] Unfortunately, these articles usually treated Futurism schematically and haphazardly, proving that the deeply ingrained Soviet biases against it could not be overcome easily. The major defect of this attenuated "rehabilitation," however, was that with some minor exceptions, it did not lead to the republication of Futurist works.[7]

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vseukrajins'komu z"jizdi radjans'kyx pys'mennykiv," *Radjans'ka literatura* (Xarkiv), 1934, no. 7–8, p. 226. Three years after the statement was made Semenko was arrested and shot. A history of Ukrainian literature published in 1945 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences had only nine lines about Futurism and mentioned Semenko alone by name. Futurism was characterized as "a serious threat to Soviet culture": see S. I. Maslov and Je. P. Kyryljuk, eds., *Narys istoriji ukrajins'koji literatury* (n.p., 1945), p. 239. In 1954 a publication of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR called Ukrainian Futurism (together with VAPLITE and the "Neoclassicists") a leading anti-Soviet literary group. It was attacked for nihilism, nationalism, and cosmopolitanism. See *Očerk ukrainskoj sovetskoj literatury* (Moscow, 1954), pp. 69–70.

4 In 1957, when the rehabilitation process in the Ukraine began with the publication of *Antolohija ukrajins'koji poeziji* (Kiev), Myxajl' Semenko was not represented by any works. The anthology included three poems by Geo Škurupij, but did not mention his being a Futurist.

5 *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1957); *Istorija ukrajins'koji radjans'koji literatury* (Kiev, 1964); *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury u vos'my tomax*, vols. 5 and 6 (Kiev, 1968, 1970).

6 B. L. Korsuns'ka, "Myxajl' Semenko," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1968, no. 6, pp. 19–33. Oleksij Poltorac'kyj, "Myxajl' Semenko ta 'Nova heneracija,'" *Vitčyzna*, 1968, no. 11, pp. 193–200. M. D. Rod'ko, "Vid futuryz pro tr'ox P"jero do temy revoljuciji," *Ukrajins'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1970, no. 8, pp. 111–18. M. D. Rod'ko, "Vid futuryz pro tr'ox P"jero do temy revoluciji," *Ukrajins'ka poezija peršyx požovtnevyx rokiv* (Kiev, 1971), pp. 135–80 (this is basically an expanded version of the article in *Ukrajins'ke literaturoznavstvo*, but there are a few interesting differences between the two redactions). N. V. Kostenko, *Poetyka Mykoly Bažana (1923–1940)* (Kiev, 1971) contains interesting information on Futurism and Bažan's relationship to it. Important information on Ukrainian Futurism can also be found in A. A. Trostjanec'kyj, *Šljaxom borot'by ta šukan'* (Kiev, 1968); V. I. Pivtoradni, *Ukrajins'ka literatura peršyx rokiv revoljuciji (1917–1923)* (Kiev, 1968). See also the entries "Futuryzm" and "Panfuturyzm" in V. M. Lesyn and O. S. Pulynec', *Slovnyk literaturoznavčyx terminiv* (Kiev, 1971). One valuable article was published in Czechoslovakia: M. Nevrli, "Myxajl' Semenko, ukrajins'kyj futuryzm i slovac'ki davisty," *Duklja*, 1966, no. 3, pp. 23–28.

7 For example, works by Myxajl' Semenko have not been republished in the Ukraine or in the West since 1936 (except for a few poems that appeared in journals and anthologies), although it is known that the German publisher Jal-Verlag, Jal-Reprint

Now the timid interest of the past fifteen years has begun to wane, and Futurism is again under a dark cloud in the Soviet Ukraine. Recent developments suggest that the movement is once more being quietly but effectively buried as a legitimate field of inquiry.[8]

Ukrainian Futurism has not received much consideration in the West, either. Although Western and, in particular, émigré scholars have filled many gaps in Soviet Ukrainian scholarship, they have not shown any specific interest in the documentation and study of Ukrainian Futurism. Western literature about the movement is sparse indeed and much of it, like that produced in the Soviet Union, barely begins to tell the story.[9] Curiously, although almost no reliable studies of Futurism exist, there is a wealth of highly opinionated material about the movement. This material owes its popularity not only to the absence of scholarship, but also to overt political sanctions in the Soviet Ukraine and not-so-overt political partisanship in the West. In the eyes of Western (émigré) critics, for example, Ukrainian Futurism is stigmatized because it is considered to have been politically more conformist and acquiescent to the Soviet regime than other literary movements.[10] Even when it is acknowledged to have "resisted" the regime, Futurism receives little favorable recognition. Most Western critics assess Semenko as a poet with "little" or "no" talent,[11] and many agree that it is "hopeless to search [in Futurist] journals and works for some sort of special depth, poetic flight, or politi-

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(Würzburg) is preparing an edition of Semenko's works. Geo Škurupij, the second most active figure in Ukrainian Futurism, has fared only slightly better. A recent publication (*Dveri v den': Vybrane* [Kiev, 1968]) contains a selection of his prose and poetry. Although an interesting volume, it contains only a fraction of Škurupij's total corpus.

[8] I have indicated elsewhere that recent Soviet publications are again censoring references to Futurism and Semenko. See my review of Mykola Bažan, *Tvory v čotyr'ox tomax: Tom IV,* in *Recenzija* 6, no. 2 (Spring–Summer 1976): 11, especially fn. 12.

[9] Brief but useful references to Futurism can be found in the following publications: Jurij Lavrynenko, *Rozstriljane vidrodžennja* (Munich, 1959); Bohdan Kravciv (Krawciw), *Obirvani struny* (New York, 1955); idem, s.v. "Semenko, Myxajlo," *Encyklopedija literaturoznavstva: Slovnykova častyna* (Paris and New York, 1973), vol. 7 (PR-SY). See also a much earlier work by Jaroslav Hordyns'kyj, *Literaturna krytyka pidsovjec'koji Ukrajiny* (Ľviv and Kiev, 1939), pp. 10–12.

[10] "For years Soviet Ukrainian Futurism exposed VAPLITE's and Neoclassicism's nationalism": Lavrynenko, *Rozstriljane vidrodžennja,* p. 111. See also Jurij Lavrynenko, "Kost' Stepan Burevij," *Ukrajins'ka literaturna hazeta* (Munich), no. 3, March 1955, p. 1.

[11] Ivan Koševilec', *Sučasna literatura v URSR* (New York, 1964), p. 181.

cal thought."[12] And although not all critics condemn Futurism for "disturbing the socially (ethically) conditioned system of language," many agree it was a "negative" instance of literary creativity.[13]

Soviet scholarship entertains virtually identical views. Even during its tentative rehabilitation Futurism inspired doubt and reservations. The notion that "Futurism had a generally negative influence on Ukrainian poetry" and "slowed down" its development was not uncommon.[14] For instance, A. Trostjanec'kyj found Geo Škurupij's Futurist work to be a "far cry from real creativity."[15] Arsen Iščuk, writing about the poet Mykola Tereščenko, stated: "The poet lived through his enthusiasm for Panfuturism, with its tendency towards destroying the poem's form. However, this sad episode did not become fatal for his further fate as a Soviet poet."[16]

Such statements give the distinct impression that Ukrainian Futurism continues to be a threatening presence which calls for condemnation, not elucidation. In contrast to Russian Futurism, which has a firm place in Russian literary history, founded on a respectable body of scholarship, Ukrainian Futurism remains unexamined from the historical, theoretical, or literary viewpoint, and, as we shall see, serious questions were and are raised about its place in the Ukrainian literary process.

Unsympathetic attitudes towards the Ukrainian movement existed even before the prejudices spawned by the 1920s and 1930s took root. They developed out of the intense scandal in the literary community that accompanied Ukrainian Futurism's debut in 1914. The scandal provided the basic arguments for dismissing Ukrainian Futurism as an unworthy literary phenomenon and lent legitimacy to later negative appraisals. It seems appropriate, therefore, to begin a reexamination of Ukrainian Futurism precisely from that event. This study analyzes the scandal's history and, especially, the literary and cultural context in which it took place. Analysis of Ukrainian Futurism's formal aspects remain outside its scope.

12 Hr. Ševčuk ["Jurij Šerex," George Y. Shevelov], "Istorija Edvarda Strixy," *Arka* (Munich), 1947, no. 6, p. 14; Jurij Šerex, "Istorija odnijeji literaturnoji mistyfikaciji," in Edvard Strixa, *Parodezy. Zozendropija. Avtoekzekucija* (New York, 1955), pp. 264–65. In the latter, Šerex was slightly more generous to Futurism than he had been in 1947.

13 Vasyl' Čaplenko, "Meži j možlyvosti movostylju," *MUR* (Regensburg), 1947, no. 3, p. 28.

14 Cf. A. I. Kostenko's introduction in *Iz poeziji 20-x rokiv* (Kiev, 1959).

15 See his introduction in *Dveri v den'*, p. 8.

16 See the introduction to Mykola Tereščenko's *Krylate vidlunnja: Vybranne* (Kiev, 1966), p. 5.

II

> В українській поезії щинився тарарам. І вчинив його — Михайль Семенко.
>
> *В. Коряк*

Ukrainian Futurism is virtually synonymous with one writer, Myxajl' Semenko. Distorting as this may be of the movement as a whole, the association is not without basis. Semenko was the founder of Ukrainian Futurism and long its only major representative.[17] Without him the movement may not have existed at all or, at least, not have appeared in 1914; most certainly it would not have survived as long as it did. Semenko stubbornly nursed Futurism from its very inception and persistently revived its appeal among writers and readers. Until the late 1920s (when O. Poltorac'kyj relieved him of the role), Semenko was also the movement's chief theoretician. As such, Semenko cleverly modified his theories to keep Futurism afloat amidst antagonistic and quickly changing political circumstances. Hopeless as they must have seemed at times, his efforts did bear fruit, as Futurism gradually attracted more and more writers and artists. Not all remained loyal to the movement. Yet, despite fluctuations in membership and a breakdown in organization, Futurism persevered to produce one of the most interesting journals of the 1920s, *Nova generacija.* Against all odds, this periodical, edited by Semenko, survived from 1927 to the end of 1930, when Futurism as a whole was suppressed by the authorities. Thus, although he was not the "king of the Futurist prairies" (a title assumed by Semenko's second-in-charge, Geo Škurupij) Semenko was always the unquestioned leader of Ukrainian Futurism. Consequently, he became the universally acknowledged *enfant terrible* of Ukrainian literature.

Nothing in Semenko's early career indicated that he would become the "bad boy" of Ukrainian letters.[18] On the contrary, his literary beginnings were thoroughly traditional, modest, and circumspect. The young poet emerged within the ranks of the then dominant Modernists and was first published in the journal *Ukrajins'ka xata.* His first collection of poems,

[17] Semenko's brother, Vasyl', and Pavlo Kovžun, both painters, were among the early Futurists (cf. Pavlo Bohac'kyj, *S'ohočasni literaturni prjamuvannja* (Prague and Berlin, 1923), p. 35. In 1914 M. Sribljans'kyj (Šapoval) described Pavlo Savčenko as a Futurist (which is doubtful), but little is known about him. See M. Sribljans'kyj, "Etjud pro futuryzm," *Ukrajins'ka xata* (Kiev), 1914, no. 6, p. 460.

[18] Poltorac'kyj, "Myxajl' Semenko ta 'Nova heneracija,'" p. 194.

which appeared in Kiev under the title *Prélude* (1913), was an undistinguished debut. Written between 1910 and 1912, the poems were mostly melancholy meditations on love, loneliness, and the poet's dreams and aspirations. Dissatisfaction with earthly life and a yearning for inner peace were the dominant emotions. The poet sought solace in nature and music, and he perceived the city as a threatening place ("misto ce, velyke i strašne").[19] Thematically and formally the poems were faithful echoes of Ukrainian Modernism, reflecting intimate knowledge of O. Oles', H. Čuprynka, and M. Voronyj. The influence of Ševčenko and folk poetry was also plainly visible ("I lynut' dni, i lynut' roky," or "ljutuje burja, serce stohne"). The poems reflected the characteristic ambivalence of Ukrainian Modernism: should the poet serve Beauty or Country? Thus in one poem Semenko declares, "Ja xoču žyt', žyttju j krasi vsmixatys' [I want to live and smile at life and beauty]." But in another he confesses, "Xočet'sja plakat' za volju zakutuju [I want to weep for our enchained freedom]"; and in yet another, "Tjažko v nevoli spivaty [It is hard to sing in captivity]."

Despite its weaknesses, *Prélude* was reviewed by the leading Modernists of the time: M. Voronyj, H. Čuprynka, and M. Sribljans'kyj (Šapoval).[20] Voronyj was the most critical of the three. Questioning whether the collection was the work of a real poet or a "scribbler" (*viršomaz*), Voronyj made several harsh, but accurate, remarks about the caliber of Semenko's verse; he tempered his criticism, however, by referring to the inevitable naiveté of an overeager beginner. Sribljans'kyj and Čuprynka were more favorably disposed: like Voronyj, they pointed out Semenko's failures, but they praised and encouraged him, as well. Čuprynka wrote, "*Prélude* is weak, but it testifies to an undeniable literary talent, although one which is uncultivated and rough" (p. 381). Sribljans'kyj added that certain poems in the collection could, with a little work, become true jewels ("blysnuty bryljantamy"). In short, while Semenko's appearance as a Modernist poet was not greeted with hosannas, he was recognized as a writer with some potential.

This judicious and essentially kind welcome was the only calm reception that Semenko's poetry received for years to come. In 1914 Semenko published two new collections which not only officially inaugurated

[19] These and the following quotations are taken from M. Semenko, *Kobzar* (Xarkiv, 1925).
[20] M. Voronyj's review (signed "M. Y—ko") appeared in *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk*, 1913, no. 6, pp. 571–74. Čuprynka's was published in *Ukrajins'ka xata*, 1913, no. 7–8, p. 506.

Ukrainian Futurism, but set the stage for a scandal without parallel in Ukrainian literary history.

The scandal broke out with the publication of the first collection, *Derzannja,* and was fueled by the appearance, shortly afterwards, of the second, *Kvero-futuryzm.* Their strong impact was fully warranted: in almost every respect, the collections defied Modernist sensibilities. Instead of being quietly introspective, they were gleefully extroverted; instead of assuming a "poetic" stance, they were often blatantly prosaic and coarse; instead of dealing with eternal questions, they focused on banalities. In the two new collections Semenko evinced a healthy irony and self-mockery. His disarming sincerity ("V mojim žytti nemaje zmistu") humanized his rhetorical egotism, as in the following instance, when he publicly acknowledged men who had inspired him:

Ще нижче поклонись! Ще кланяйсь, кланяйсь
Вони здобутки всі зараз тобі дали —
І Ігорь, і Бальмонт, і Білий, і Чурляніс —
Всі хором, і ретельно так, гули:
Семенко — кланяйсь, кланяйсь!
— Ні, не схилюсь. . . .[21]

The poetic paraphernalia of Futurism was present, but it was devoid of the deadly earnestness that had marred Semenko's Modernist poems. The collections' "trans-sense" verse appeared to be almost a humorous game, written to satisfy some unspoken rule of Futurism, rather than a true experimentation with sounds in the spirit of Kručenyx or Xlebnikov.[22]

The collections had forewords which were, in effect, manifestos of Semenko's new literary stance. More than the poetry itself, they caused the great furor. Because the forewords are extremely important, largely unavailable, and frequently misquoted, excerpts from the original are provided below. The first, from the collection *Derzannja,* bore the title "Sam" [Alone]:

Ей ти, чоловіче, слухай сюди! Та слухай же — ти, чудовий цілком! Я хочу сказати тобі декілька слів про мистецтво й про те, що до нього стосуєся — тільки декількі слів. Не має нічого ліпшого, як розмовляти з тобою про мистецтво, чоловіче. Я берусь руками за боки й регочусь. Я весь тремчу від сміху — вигляд твій чудовий, чоловіче! Ой, та з тобою ж пекельно весело!

. . . Ах, з тобою страшенно тоскно. . . . Я не хочу з тобою говорити. Ти підносиш мені засмальцованого "Кобзаря" й кажеш: ось моє мистецтво.

[21] Semenko's "Prytysnutyj," *Kobzar,* p. 76.
[22] See Semenko's poem "V stepu," *Kobzar,* p. 79.

Чоловіче, мені за тебе соромно . . . Ти підносиш мені заялозені мистецькі "ідеї" й мене канудить. Чоловіче. Мистецтво є щось таке, що тобі й не снилось. Я хочу тобі сказати, що де є культ, там немає мистецтва. А передовсім воно не боїться нападів. Навпаки. В нападах воно гартуєся. А ти вхопивсь за свого "Кобзаря," від якого тхне дьогтем і салом, і думаєш, що його захистить твоя пошана. Пошана твоя його вбила. Й нема йому воскресення. Хто ним захоплюєся теперь? Чоловік примітивний. Як раз вроді тебе, показчиком якого є "Рада." Чоловіче. Час титана перевертає в нікчемного ліліпута і місце Шевченкові в записках наукових товариств. Поживши з вами відстаєш на десятиріччя. Я не приймаю такого мистецтва. Як я можу шанувати тепер Шевченка, коли я бачу, що він є під моїми ногами? Я не можу, як ти, на протязі місяців витягувати з себе жили пошани до того, хто, будучи сучасним чинником, є зьявищем глибоко відразливим. Чоловіче. Я хочу тобі сказати, що в сі дні, коли я отсе пишу, гидко взяти в руки нашу часопись. Як би я отсе тобі не сказав, що думаю, то я б задушився в атмосфері вашого "щирого" українського мистецтва. Я бажаю йому смерти. Такі твої ювилейні свята. Отсе все, що лишилось від Шевченка. Але не можу й я уникнути сього святкування.

Я палю свій "Кобзарь."[23]

[23] This quotation (orthographically unchanged) is from M. Jevšan's article "'Suprema Lex': Slovo pro kul'turu ukrajins'koho slova," *Ukrajins'ka xata,* 1914, no. 3–4, pp. 272–73. *Derzannja* was not accessible. In translation the manifesto reads approximately as follows:

Hey, man, listen here! Listen here, I say. You're really strange, man. I'd like to tell you a few words about art and about those things that pertain to it, just a few words. There can't be anything better than talking with you about art, man. I grab hold of my sides and laugh. I shake with laughter. Your appearance is strange, man! Oh, you're funny as hell.

Ah, it's terribly boring to be with you. . . . I don't want to talk to you. You raise your greasy *Kobzar* and say: here is my art. Man, I'm embarrassed for you. . . . You bring me debased "ideas" of art and it makes me sick. Man, art is something you haven't even dreamt of. I want to tell you, that where there is a cult, there is no art. And most importantly, it [art] doesn't fear attack. Quite the contrary. It is strengthened when attacked. But you've grabbed your *Kobzar,* which smells of wagon grease and lard, and you think that your reverence will protect it. Your reverence has killed it and there is no way to resurrect it. Who is enthusiastic about it [the *Kobzar*] now? Primitive men, precisely of your type, who read [the newspaper] *Rada.* Man, time turns Titans into worthless Lilliputians, and their place now is in the annals of scholarly institutions. Living among you, one falls decades behind the times. I don't accept that type of art. How can I revere Ševčenko, when I see that he is under my feet? I can't be pulling veins of reverence from my body for months at a time the way you do for a man who, because he is a contemporary factor, is [therefore] a deeply repulsive phenomenon. Man, I want to tell you that right now, as I write this, I find it loathsome to pick up our papers. If I didn't tell you what's on my mind, then I'd choke in the atmosphere of your "sincere" Ukrainian art. I wish it would die. Such is your jubilee celebration. That's all there is left of Ševčenko. But, neither can I avoid my own celebration.

I burn my *Kobzar.*

The second is from *Kvero-futuryzm:*

Національну добу в мистецтві . . . ми вже перебули. . . . Нам треба догнати сьогоднішній день. Тому плижкуємо. . . . Хай наші батьки (що не дали нам нічого в спадщину), втішаються «рідним» мистецтвом, доживаючи з ним вкупі, ми, молодь, не подамо їм руки. Доганяймо сьогоднішній день![24]

The reaction to Semenko's blatantly provocative attitude was extreme. At first, the poet's debut as a Futurist was officially ignored: newspapers refused to accept reviews of the collections and bookstores refused to stock them. One critic wrote that Semenko had become a leper ("stav prokažennym"),[25] and another reported that "some sincere Ukrainian even boasted that he would 'punch Semenko in the snout.'"[26] At last, however, *Ukrajins'ka xata* broke the conspiratorial silence. The initial attack was the article "'Suprema Lex'" by M. Jevšan (Fedjuška).[27] Shortly afterwards, M. Sribljans'kyj joined in the fray with a blistering attack on Semenko in "Etjud pro futuryzm."[28] Referring to it years later, Jakiv Savčenko said that "even from the point of view of the most elementary ethics one cannot imagine a more shameful and unacceptable criticism than Sribljans'kyj's."[29] Sribljans'kyj reiterated some elements of the attack in a one-page review of *Kvero-futuryzm* which appeared in the same issue of *Ukrajins'ka xata* as his article.

Jevšan and Sribljans'kyj had utter contempt for Semenko's new literary style. Both critics called him an "idiot" and his verse "idiotic stuttering." Jevšan compared Semenko's poetry and theories to spitting in a reader's face (p. 272), and scorned him as an *inteligent* who "having produced nothing himself, mocks his native language, national music, poetry, literature" (p. 274). Sribljans'kyj declared Semenko's poetry "brigandage — not literature" and characterized his language as the ravings of a "degenerate" (p. 464). "Impudence, not boldness" is how Sribljans'kyj defined the title of the collection *Derzannja.*

[24] Quoted from O. Doroškevyč, *Pidručnyk istoriji ukrajins'koji literatury,* 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1926), p. 290 (*Kvero-futuryzm* was not accessible to me). The passage translates as follows:

We have already covered the national (*nacional'nyj*) period in art. . . . We must overtake the present. Therefore let us leap forward. . . . Let our fathers (who have left us nothing to inherit) make merry with their own native art and end their last days with it; we, the young, will not stretch out our hands to them. Let us overtake the present!

[25] Jakiv Savčenko, "Myxajl' Semenko: 'P"jero zadajet'sja,'" *Literaturno-krytyčnyj al'manax,* bk. 1 (Kiev, 1918), p. 28.

[26] Bohac'kyj, *S'ohočasni literaturni prjamuvannja,* p. 35.

[27] See fn. 23. Subsequent references are indicated by page numbers in the text.

[28] See fn. 17. Subsequent references are indicated by page numbers in the text.

[29] Savčenko, "Myxajl' Semenko," p. 28.

Especially reprehensible to the attackers was Semenko's insolent attitude towards Ševčenko. The phrases "Ševčenko is under my feet" and "I burn my *Kobzar*" were angrily condemned. "The greatest hypocrisy . . . a lie," cried Sribljans'kyj: "The burning of the *Kobzar* is not the boldness of a hero, but the villainy of a brigand" (p. 464). Sribljans'kyj's wrath culminated with this hysterical onslaught:

> One could probably remain calm [in the face of this futuristic poetry] but the point is that this Semenko is a symbol of Ukrainian reality. He protests against that which will not land him in prison. He is a typical Ukrainian: he does not know Ukrainian, he stutters *vn tk,** presenting this as the future language. He is a symbol of Ukrainian disintegration and cynicism. He is a product of that patriotic villainy (*xamstvo*) which latches on to the newest slogans, not knowing their content; he fingers and smears them. . . . He does not understand that this poem "V stepu" is his soul. He is just like the famous painter-artist who boasted about the strength of his imagination by saying that he paints dung not from nature, but from memory. (p. 464)

Semenko emerged from under Sribljans'kyj's pen as the archetype of chaos and the antagonist of all that is natural, freedom-loving, and beautiful. The tirade concluded with the hope that this evil would perish and that good would triumph again. In terms obviously borrowed from the Modernist repertoire of images, Sribljans'kyj portrayed his own ideals thus:

> The future language will be the language of free people, not the limited scale of sounds [produced] by a degenerate. Let us become free people — then we will have a free, musical and flexible language which will sound forth in a symphony of magical sounds. This language will shine and burn in the eyes, will astound by the beauty of its gestures, will enthrall your body in bliss. The future language is Beauty. The future life is Beauty. This will be a language which will echo from the mouths of free people and not from contemporary impertinent scatterbrains, ignoramuses, savages with yellow shoes and protruding collars. . . .
>
> . . . Free people will not bustle about, provoking, burning books, will not stand like simpletons on spread-eagled legs lolling out their tongues. . . . There will only be silence, filled with the sun's luster, the breathing of flowers, the sounds of unspoken poems, the beauty of rays crossing the air. . . . (pp. 464–65)

Compelled to mount his own defense, Semenko reacted in terms that were sometimes equally harsh and offensive. His side of the battle, however, was waged primarily in verse. The most interesting counterattack, entitled "Prykryj stan" [A sad state of affairs], was written only a month after Sribljans'kyj's essay appeared:

* *Refers to Semenko's trans-sense poem "V stepu."*

Я зіпсував собі настрій
Прочитавши статтю Сріблянського.
Так гарно коли він про інших пише
Читаючи ж про себе — розчарувався.
Та й змагатися не варт з людиною
Що Бальмонтом зіпсувала собі смак
І цього добродія куди треба й нетреба тиче.
Ах безнадійна робота — від сріблянських
чогось сподіватися,
Буду чекати, поки він подавиться за обідом.[30]

Three years later, in Vladivostok, Semenko took Sribljans'kyj on again, in the poem "Estet."[31] He also fired a number of volleys against the Modernist poets Oles', Voronyj, and Čuprynka; subsequently, they became frequent targets of his irony (e.g., in the poems "Bilja Volodymyra," "K drugu stixotvorcu," "Parykmaxer").

* * *

Beneath the invective and emotionalism, there were three basic arguments underlying and motivating the scandal. The first argument held that Futurism as represented by Semenko was not literature, but some kind of verbal abomination which, indeed, threatened the very existence of Ukrainian literature and language: hence the accusations of Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan that the movement was "brigandage," "idiocy," and a "defiling" of the Ukrainian "word." The second suggested that by attacking Ševčenko, Semenko undermined not only Ukrainian literature, but also Ukrainian political interests: in fact, Sribljans'kyj openly implied that the movement was virtually treasonous (pp. 457, 459). The third line of argument attacked Semenko's originality: Sribljans'kyj went so far as to charge Semenko with "plagiarism" (p. 458) and to call his poems "stolen rags" whose worthlessness was compounded by their origins in Russia, the country "where every new human thought or movement is distorted" (pp. 461–62). As a "Muscovite Ukrainianism" ("moskovskoju ukrajinščynoju," p. 462), Semenko's Futurism could have no place in an authentically Ukrainian literary and cultural milieu.

Strange as the arguments appear today, they had considerable influence and endurance. Some of their effectiveness stemmed from the nature of political conditions at the time they were made. Even later, however, Sribljans'kyj's theses were widely accepted. He himself republished his

[30] *Kobzar*, p. 112.
[31] *Kobzar*, p. 251.

essay in 1924, when already an émigré, apparently without any qualms about its anachronism.[32] (O. Slisarenko, then a Futurist, responded that just as an old maid who "loses hope of ever getting married rereads old love letters, so Sribljans'kyj delights in articles whose 'earthly time has passed.'")[33] Serhij Jefremov reiterated the negative opinions with particular success: the scathing assessment of Futurism in his popular history was almost certainly based on Sribljans'kyj's essay.[34] Through Jefremov, Sribljans'kyj's opinions spread in the emigration and resurfaced in derivative Western histories of Ukrainian literature.[35] Essentially, then, the standard view on Ukrainian Futurism in the West and in the Soviet Union came to share Sribljans'kyj's three objections: namely, that Ukrainian Futurism is not literature (or, in a milder version, "bad" literature),[36] that it dishonored Ševčenko's name,[37] and that it is not a "natural" phenomenon in Ukrainian culture but an artificial and alien transplant from Russian soil. The last argument became especially common and so deserves close examination.

In 1918, Oleksander Hruševs'kyj suggested that Futurism was antipathetic to Ukrainian traditions: "Futurism somehow has not been able to sink its roots deeply into the Ukrainian literary soil: the stable and durable traditions of Ukrainian literature have not given this literary 'movement' [the chance] to develop fully."[38] Jurij Meženko argued along similar lines and concluded that Futurism was not suited to the Ukrainian temperament. Contrasting Futurism to Symbolism, Meženko noted that the latter had "somewhat of a tradition" and a "natural foundation" in the Ukraine, whereas the former did not. Futurism, he reasoned, "cannot naturally assume a place in Ukrainian poetry, which is tied to a nation whose psychology is constructive, not destructive, since, after all, there

32 M. Sribljans'kyj, *Etjud pro futuryzm* (Kam'janec' na Podillju-Odesa: Drukarnja v-va "Čornomor" [Kališ tabor internovanyx], 1924).
33 *Červonyj šljax* (Xarkiv), 1924, no. 11-12, pp. 306-307.
34 Serhij Jefremov, *Istorija ukrajinskoho pys'menstva*, vol. 2 (Kiev and Leipzig, 1919 [1924]), pp. 386-89.
35 E.g., Volodymyr Radzykevyč, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 3 (Detroit, 1956), p. 88.
36 Jefremov says that Semenko "is not a writer... and his writings are not poetry, but simple and quite ordinary trickery," p. 388. Later critics have called Semenko's work "vybryk" or "dyvadctvo."
37 This is a point almost no article or history fails to mention. It is one of the few universally known facts about Semenko. L. Novyčenko's statement can serve as an example: "M. Semenko . . . in one of his poems (*sic*) blasphemously called for the . . . burning of the *Kobzar* of T. H. Ševčenko." *Antolohija ukrajins'koji poeziji*, 3: 8.
38 Quoted from his review of Semenko's "P"jero zadajet'sja. Fragmenty. Intymni poeziji. Knyha perša," in *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk*, bk. 2, 1918, p. 136.

really isn't anything to destroy."[39] This idea also made its way into later literature: for instance, the émigré scholar Volodymyr Radzykevyč maintained that "Škurupij's poetry is proof of the unnaturalness and irrelevancy (*nedoladnosty*) of Ukrainian Futurism,"[40] and the Soviet scholar Aron Trostjanec'kyj insisted that "in general, for Ukrainian literature Futurism was an inorganic phenomenon and enthusiasm for it was short-lived."[41] The noted Western critic Jurij Šerex wrote: "This [literary] current [i.e., Futurism] was not organic to Ukrainian literature."[42]

The argument about the so-called inorganic nature of Semenko's work has become a convenient means of dismissing him and Futurism from the Ukrainian literary process. It is, in effect, a sleight-of-hand which obscures complex historical and literary issues while camouflaging prejudice. When the "organicity" argument is even slightly altered, as by the Soviet critic M. Rod'ko ("Besides, all these Kvero-futuristic innovations were nothing but the most common modifications of Russian Futurism"),[43] it becomes obvious that the real issue continues to be Russian influence or borrowing, just as it was with Sribljans'kyj. The presence of that element becomes reason enough to condemn or ignore Semenko as a poet.

Of course, Russian "influence" alone (as real as it was) cannot be grounds for discrediting Semenko's role in the Ukrainian literary process.[44] This argument is not only untenable, but falsely implies that Semenko can be reduced wholly to these "influences." In the 1920s, B. Jakubs'kyj dealt with this argument: "Russian influences . . . do not exhaust the content of Semenko's poetry: he is much more interesting, rich, and sincere [than that]."[45] Moreover, even if the "organicity" argument were to be taken at face value, it can still be proved, as we shall see, that Semenko's Futurism was not divorced from the Ukrainian milieu at all; that, in fact, it was nurtured by the Ukrainian intellectual atmosphere

[39] Quoted from Rod'ko, *Ukrajins'ka poezija peršyx požovtnevyx rokiv*, p. 177.
[40] V. Radzykevyč, *Ukrajins'ka literatura XX stolittja* (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 91.
[41] Škurupij, *Dveri v den'*, p. 5.
[42] Strixa, *Parodezy. Zozendropija. Avtoekzekucija*, p. 262. Ivan Koševlivec' objects to the "organicity" argument in his *Sučasna literatura v URSR*, p. 181.
[43] Rod'ko, *Ukrajins'ka poezija peršyx požovtnevyx rokiv*, p. 143.
[44] Claudio Guillén put the problem succinctly: "Obviously the discovery of an influence does not modify our appreciation or evaluation of a poem (although conventions may) and the analysis of these phenomena has precious little to do with any absolute scale of aesthetic values or broad survey of literary achievements." *Literature as System* (Princeton, N.J., 1971), p. 39.
[45] B. Jakubs'kyj, "Myxajl' Semenko," *Červonyj šljax*, 1925, no. 1–2, p. 247.

and appeared in response to specific Ukrainian literary and cultural problems.

III

> Литературные скандалы закономерно сопровождают литературные революции.
>
> *Юрий Тынянов*

Since Semenko was originally a Modernist, it should not be surprising that Ukrainian Modernism laid the groundwork for his Futurism. Already long before Semenko, Ukrainian literature had taken a sharp innovative turn as, in the late nineteenth century, it began to throw off the mantle of national introspection. West European literature steadily became the model by which new Ukrainian literary works were judged. Although the populist and "national" orientations refused to die, Ukrainian literature now unquestionably sought "universal" horizons. With the appearance of the Modernists (Mykola Voronyj and the "Moloda muza" group), pursuit of this goal accelerated, and attacks on tradition — particularly on socially and nationally "utilitarian" literature — increased. This led to the first scandal in Ukrainian literature, pitting the Modernists against the older, traditional writers and critics (i.e., Franko, Jefremov). Ukrainian Modernism did not attain European or Russian levels of "decadence" at the time, but the new writers did loosen the fabric of tradition and, to an extent, did legitimize "non-conformity." Certainly, *Ukrajins'ka xata* could not have appeared without this prior transformation in Ukrainian culture.

By the 1900s, then, inherent radicalizing forces were at work in the Ukrainian literary process, and they became the soil on which Ukrainian Futurism took root. Šerex may be correct in saying that the non-urbanized Ukraine was not an ideal place for the flowering of Futurism (a movement "as a rule connected with urbanism"), but he, like others, is incorrect in concluding that Futurism was therefore "inorganic" in Ukrainian literature. Such a conclusion gives too much weight to economic factors and undervalues the intellectual and literary milieu that, after all, plays a more important role in such matters. Despite the low level of urbanization, the intellectual and literary preconditions for Futurism's rise did exist in the Ukraine. The journal *Ukrajins'ka xata,* together with its two major critics, was highly instrumental in creating these conditions.

In her reminiscences about *Ukrajins'ka xata,* Halyna Žurba mentions that "Marinetti and his Futurism" was one of the "burning issues"[46] which concerned her and Sribljans'kyj. This is an indication that Futurism was not entirely alien to Ukrainian writers. More generally, Žurba shows that some literary figures — for instance, Hnat Xotkevyč and Hryhorij Čuprynka — lived in the kind of "bohemian" and "decadent" atmosphere associated with Futurism. Her portrait of Hryhorij Čuprynka — which has a curious resemblance to descriptions of Semenko in his later Futurist period[47] — is of particular interest:

> In the corner, stiff and silent, sat Hryc'ko Čuprynka. He was tall, lean, and bald, with two tufts of hair on his temples. The face was gray, mute, without any moustache; the lips were narrow, compressed, the eyes, gray and cold. Probably, he felt ill-at-ease in this company without drinking, without scandalous activity. Nevertheless, he survived till the very end, without engaging in any extravagance. He was an anarchic type, who had grown up on wild, steppe-like, and poorly cultivated soil. He walked about in a long black cape, a black, brimmed hat from beneath which he stared like Rinaldo Rinaldini. He liked to give himself airs. Nevertheless, later, during the liberation struggle, he showed character and patriotism and knew how to die for the Ukraine with rifle in hand.[48]

This individual idiosyncracy was matched by ideological originality. *Ukrajins'ka xata* was deeply imbued with the spirit of avant-gardism and revolt, as Žurba correctly points out:

> *Ukrajins'ka xata* was at that time the most progressive revolutionary platform for the young, a platform for their protest, revolt against all types of stagnation (*zaskoruzlist'*), lack of principle, political opportunism. It consisted of an uncompromising political-literary group. . . . Its belligerent style occasionally took on a very sharp tone in the war with the conservative camp of Čykalenko-Jefremov.[49]

No one was more belligerent than Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan. These critics were strongly influenced by the works of O. Kobyljans'ka and, especially, by her Nietzschean attitudes. Their fondness for a "higher order of men" made them quick to devalue earlier Ukrainian cultural achievements, which they viewed as the weak products of an uncrystallized Ukrainian national spirit. Their antagonism to the past was expressed in ways that rivaled some of Futurism's most extreme statements.

[46] Halyna Žurba, "Vid 'Ukrajins'koji xaty' do 'Muzahetu,'" *Slovo: Zbirnyk 1* (New York, 1962), p. 440.

[47] Jurij Smolyč gives us glimpses of Semenko's character in *Rospovid' pro nespokij* (Kiev, 1968), and *Rozpovid' pro nespokij tryvaje* (Kiev, 1969). See also Klym Poliščuk, *Z vyru revoljuciji* (L'viv and Kiev, 1923), pp. 12, 14.

[48] Žurba, "Vid 'Ukrajins'koji xaty' do 'Muzahetu,'" p. 445.

[49] Žurba, "Vid 'Ukrajins'koji xaty' do 'Muzahetu,'" pp. 437–38.

For example, in 1913, reacting to M. Hruševs'kyj's *Kul'turno-nacional'nyj rux v XVII st. na Ukrajini,* Sribljans'kyj declared:

There is no culture in our past. . . . We shall not bow, the way the patriots demand, to our forefathers, who have left us only one inheritance — their stupidity, lack of principle, barbarism, and darkness. We shall not honor their "uncultured culture," we shall not bow in front of their art. This is something we do not need, while that which we do need our forefathers have not created and have not given to us. . . . We have no forefathers worthy of honor and the unworthy of honor are useless to us.[50]

Jevšan, too, was capable of similar outcries. In a comment on the contemporary literary scene, Jevšan ridiculed "Ukrainian" art in terms not unlike Semenko's:

And so the drunken mob of buffoons rushes forward somewhere and bursts into insane laughter, [all] under the banner of "Ukrainian" art. . . . And one is convinced for the *n*th time, that in all these works there is often no sign of creative thought, [nor] even of the intensity that would indicate some sort of broader interest; there is absolutely no desire to venture out from one's own warm corner where everything happens easily, of its own accord.[51]

Both Jevšan and Sribljans'kyj despaired over what they perceived as the narrowness, provincialism, and superficiality of Ukrainian literature. They were offended by the literature's effeteness as art and, especially, as ideology. They resented its portrayal of suffering, meekness, and helplessness without positing a solution. They emphasized that literature must be liberating and stimulate change, that it must heal the "maimed" human soul and, rather than avoid life, "enter it boldly."[52] Characteristically, Jevšan deplored the fact that there was "no protest, no struggle"[53] in contemporary literature. He was pleased to discover Čuprynka's poem "Do svojix," just because it contained the line "bunt dlja buntu [revolt for the sake of revolt]."[54]

[50] Quoted from P. Bohac'kyj, M. Šapol, A. Žyvotko, *Ukrajins'ka xata (1909–1914)* (New York, 1955), p. 14.
[51] M. Jevšan, *Kudy my pryjšly* (L'viv, 1912), pp. 10, 12.
[52] This is a leitmotif which recurs constantly in *Ukrajins'ka xata.* It is especially evident in the following articles: M. Sribljans'kyj, "Pro Domo Sua," *Ukrajins'ka xata,* 1909, no. 7–8, pp. 413–31, and M. Jevšan, "Problemy tvorčosty," *Ukrajins'ka xata,* 1910, no. 1, pp. 24–31.
[53] Jevšan, *Kudy my pryjšly,* p. 31.
[54] ДО СВОЇХ . . .

З громадського багна, багно літературне зробили ви . . .

П. Куліш.

Я не співець свого народу, —
Він сам поет своїх страждань, —

Undoubtedly, this vigor of spirit had a significant effect on Semenko's own development as a poet. In many respects the poetry he wrote after *Prélude* fulfilled Sribljans'kyj's and Jevšan's critical desiderata admirably. The poems of 1913 (which were grouped in Semenko's *Kobzar* under the title "Najivni poezijky") attest that Semenko had begun moving away from the melancholy and retiring tones of his *Prélude* to more assertive and even rebellious positions. The interesting fact here is that as Semenko's rebelliousness grew, so did the Futurist elements in his poems. This strongly suggests that Semenko evolved towards Futurism largely on the basis of attitudes prevalent in *Ukrajins'ka xata* and that Futurism acted as their natural complement and logical conclusion. Even in his Futurist manifestos, Semenko referred to basic concerns first voiced by *Ukrajins'ka xata* (consider his attack on the newspaper *Rada*, the leading opponent of *Ukrajins'ka xata*, and his rejection of the "fathers" and their art).

Semenko's evolution from Modernist melancholy through *Ukrajins'ka xata*'s rebelliousness to Futurism is traceable in the poems he wrote during the last months of 1913. The poem below, written on October 9, is still pervaded by characteristically Modernist dejection and sadness. Only the title, "Najivni poezijky," suggests that Semenko may possess a newfound irony:

Ой люлі люлі любий світ
прийми сутінний мій привіт

І ледве чую запитання:
Скажи, що краще літа є?
Що краще є лісів зелених,
Степів шовкових, запашних,
Буяння пахощів південних,
Пташок веселих, голосних?

Я славлю небо, славлю вроду
І пал душевних поривань.

Краса зостанеться красою,
Хоч і в занепаді вона,
Я окроплю її сльозою,
Я вирву цвіт її з багна.

Коли ж нема нового грунту
І животворної роси,
Я кину лозунг — бунт для бунту
Своїм гнобителям краси.

Hryhorij Čuprynka, *Tvory* (Prague, 1926), p. 71. Jevšan quotes this poem in *Kudy my pryjšly*, pp. 50–51.

Лечу від вас, але плекаю
У серці думку — чи сказать?
В похмурі дні будете, знаю,
Ви літа теплого чекать.
Я ледве чую запитання,
Все тихше промінь в очі б'є.
Сонце всміхається востаннє —
Скажи, що краще літа є![55]

The poem "Ja jdu," written on November 24, heralds a definite change in Semenko's attitudes:

Я йду від вас — ланцюг скидаю,
Що ваше — вам віддаю.
Беріте попіл — все, що маю,
Душу лише мені мою.

В майбутнє я пішов — стежками,
Якими звірі у свій час йшли.
Ми вже одкреслені смужками —
Ми ріжні, ми розійшлись.

Дякую за історію і за хліб.
Також за кохання й млу ночей.
Від світла нового я осліп —
Я не бачу своїх очей.

Я кидаю вас — ланцюг скидаю,
До своїх залізних спішу.
Беріте попіл — все, що маю.
Я світ новий оголошу.[56]

Although vague in the Modernist fashion, "Zaklyk," written on November 25, echoes Sribljans'kyj's irreverent cry against all "ancestors." A number of its elements suggest Semenko's imminent transformation:

Гартуйте дух. Пора на волю.
Тікають степом вороги.
Не нарікати нам на долю.
Огляньмось сміло навкруги.

Нас тіни *предків* не злякають
Забуті генії хай сплять.
Хай в тузі нас вони втішають,
Як б'ється серце гріх мовчать.

[55] *Kobzar*, p. 53.
[56] *Kobzar*, p. 55.

Гартуйте дух. Пора на волю
Лунає полем передзвін
Ми завоюєм свою долю
Огнем червоним творчих змін.

Нема нам вартостей взамін
І пал живий нас в пущі водить
А на руїнах сірих стін
Уже трава зелена сходить.

Гартуйте дух. Пора на волю.
Тікають степом вороги.
Не нарікати нам на долю
Огляньмось сміло навкруги![57]

Two days after "Zaklyk," Semenko composed "Poezopisnja,"[58] a poem hailing the "kingdom of eternal change (*carstvo vičnyx zmin*)." Its very title points toward Futurism (and, more precisely, Severjanin). By December 8, Futurist elements became more pronounced: completed on that day was "Počatok," a poem with an awkward but significant mixture of Modernist images, Futurist neologisms, and ideological attitudes reminiscent of Jevšan and Sribljans'kyj:

Живущосмілими екстазами
Ми ваші душі враз напоємо,
Безмежнодивними фантазами
Всі виразки на вас загоємо.
Ми не прийшли з мозками хорими —
Наші чуття життям наповнені,
А наші думи світозорими
Новими темами оздоблені.
Співожиття прожить дуезами —
Це наші маріння загадані,
І сміло, сміло йдем з поезами,
Як ваші сни ясні, негадані.
І не страшні нам ваші накрики
І осуд рабського обурення, —
З вами не вмруть бо наші заклики,
Нудних шабльонів смілі буріння.
І прийде час — свої фантази ми
У храм прекрасний перетворимо,

[57] *Kobzar*, p. 57.
[58] *Kobzar*, p. 59.

А потім соняшноекстазами
Щось на руїнах знов утворимо.[59]

These four pre-Futurist poems, while hardly masterful, are valuable historically because they mirror Semenko's efforts to break new literary terrain. The poems also show how the call for change and renewal by the critics of *Ukrajins'ka xata* was eventually translated into and identified with Futurism. If nothing else, these poems show that Semenko's Futurism was an extension (an "organic" extension, if you will) of the journal's Modernism, not an alien or sudden violation of Ukrainian tradition.

A certain traditionalism is evident in Semenko's outburst against Ševčenko, too. If examined closely, the attack appears far less scandalous than it was first taken to be. Here, too, Semenko seems to have amplified an idea which was not new. P. Kuliš, M. Drahomanov, and I. Franko had already attempted, in one way or another, to strip Ševčenko of some of his sanctity and absolute poetic authority. Semenko's iconoclastic statements take on an altogether different and gentler light in this context, particularly if they are compared to Drahomanov's statements in his *Ševčenko, ukrajinofily j socijalizm* (1879): "The *Kobzar* has already outlived its time — 'ein überwundener Standpunkt,' as the Germans say. And moreover: the *Kobzar* is, in many respects, a seed which has been left lying in the storehouse and did not perform the service it ought to have while it was yet fresh, and today it is of little service."[60] And, at another point:

> Litanies, particularly litanies said after the death of a saint, bring little benefit and a lot of harm to people. And perhaps no one is harmed more by litanies than we, the semibarbarians of Eastern Europe. Let us remember that Russian literature began to grow in earnest only after Belinskij pointed out that Russia has no real literature, that Puškin by himself does not constitute a literature and that there is no real need as yet to pray to him. It is time that someone or other would perform a similar service for Ukrainian literature in respect to Ševčenko, particularly because the Ukrainophiles for a long time now have exalted him as a writer and as a leader in social endeavors. But from all this exaltation the Ukrainian cause, whether literary or social, has not progressed very far.[61]

In 1901 Franko derided those who continued to identify Ukrainian literature exclusively with Ševčenko, as if no real literature were written after

[59] *Kobzar*, p. 64.
[60] Myxajlo Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publicystyčni praci u dvox tomax* (Kiev, 1970), vol. 2, p. 100.
[61] Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publicystyčni praci*, 2: 97. For the scandalous effect these words had, see I. Franko's introduction to M. Drahomanov, *Ševčenko, ukrajinofily j socijalizm*, 2nd ed. (Ľviv, 1906), pp. iii–iv.

him.[62] In 1911 Jevšan addressed the problem, warning that the uncritical adoration of Ševčenko was dangerous both for the great poet and for Ukrainian society (note the similarity to Semenko's manifesto):

Every year we organize all kinds of concerts and evening meetings; we pronounce that "the Ukraine lives on" and say that in doing so we honor the memory of Ševčenko.

Such official celebration of Ševčenko has not advanced us one step forward, has not brought us closer to the poet and his ideas; it has only taught us lies!!

. . . We have not yet learned anything from Ševčenko, we only deceive ourselves. We systematically insult not only his memory, but everything that is beautiful, good, and holy, everything that governs the life of nobler souls.[63]

Sribljans'kyj himself wrote a scathing attack against cult-mongers of this type, charging that "Nowhere does the mob show its hypocrisy and villainy better than in a cult [devoted to] its 'prophet' and 'martyr.'"[64]

It is in this reformist spirit that Semenko's own manifesto must be understood. Like Jevšan, Semenko was reacting against those whose ignorance had made Ševčenko repulsive to "nobler souls" (it should be remembered that the manifesto pictured Ševčenko's apologist as a conservative and "primitive man"). Contrary to what critics have maintained for over half a century, Semenko's manifesto is not an attack on Ševčenko, but, as Semenko clearly says, primarily a statement "about art and about those things that pertain to it."[65] Semenko's assault on the Ševčenko cult (". . . your jubilee celebrations. That's all that is left of Ševčenko") is only an elaboration of his main point.

In *Derzannja* Semenko called for the revitalization of literature and the abandonment of exhausted literary forms. His attitude towards Ševčenko's work per se was basically positive: for instance, Semenko counted Ševčenko among the "Titans" of art. By saying that great art had nothing to fear, he implied that Ševčenko, as a great poet, had nothing to fear from being "burned." Clearly, Semenko did not regard the *Kobzar* as bad art, only as anachronistic. In his view, the constant idealization of the

[62] Cf. I. Franko, "Naša poezija v 1901 roci," *Tvory v dvadcjaty tomax*, vol. 16 (Kiev, 1955), pp. 333–34.

[63] M. Jevšan, *Taras Ševčenko* (Kiev, 1911), pp. 6–7.

[64] M. Sribljans'kyj, "Poet i jurba: Do xarakterystyky 'kul'tu Ševčenka,'" *Ukrajins'ka xata*, 1910, no. 3, p. 28.

[65] Consider with what consistency Semenko emphasizes that art is his main concern: "There is nothing better than talking with you about art. . . . You raise your greasy *Kobzar* and say: here is my art. . . . You bring me debased 'ideas' of art. . . . Art is something you haven't even dreamt of. . . . Where there is a cult, there is no art. . . . [Art] doesn't fear attack. . . . I don't accept that type of art. . . . I'd choke in the atmosphere of your 'sincere' Ukrainian art."

Kobzar testified more to petrified literary forms and tastes than to patriotism. Ševčenko was understood to be a "repulsive phenomenon" when the philistine, ignoring the need for literary evolution, proffered his *Kobzar* as a model for contemporary artists and consequently made Ukrainian art fall "decades behind the times." In short, Semenko was rejecting not Ševčenko, but the backwardness and philistinism that Ševčenko's cult and the newspaper *Rada* symbolized. The work Semenko burned was not the *Kobzar* of the Titan Ševčenko, but the "greasy" *Kobzar* of the cult formed in his name. His gesture aimed to purify, not to destroy.[66]

* * *

If the foregoing resolves one issue — Futurism's "organicity" in Ukrainian literature — it also raises important other issues. If Semenko had fairly deep roots in both the immediate and less immediate Ukrainian tradition, why did Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan consider him alien to that tradition? If Semenko had so much in common with the two critics, why did they reject him so violently? The answers lie in the divergence of views about the purpose and function of literature.

Semenko's Futurist manifesto showed an intrinsic interest in literature as art. For Semenko, the question of art's modernity or quality loomed larger than the question of its social, national, or political function. In this respect, he remained true to early Ukrainian Modernism, which emphasized the formal aspect of art and had an antipathy for "socially committed" works. The critics who published in *Ukrajins'ka xata* held virtually antithetical ideals and were thus obliged to find Semenko's literary orientation unacceptable. Contrary to widespread opinion, the views maintained in *Ukrajins'ka xata* were not a more radical extension of the earliest Modernist trends (i.e., of the positions of Voronyj and the "Moloda muza"). If anything, the journal backed away from the radical literary principles of early Modernism. Opinions that the *Ukrajins'ka*

[66] Ševčenko remained an important topic in later Futurist writings, as well. Especially in the late 1920s, during the period of *Nova generacija*, the Futurists engaged in a concerted effort to "rehabilitate" Ševčenko, i.e., to liberate him from the cult. *Nova generacija* published a series of poems under the heading "Rehabilitacija Ševčenka," including one by O. Korž which strongly suggested that contemporaries viewed Semenko's "attack" on Ševčenko primarily as a blow against the cult rather than against the poet himself. Korž wrote: "I ja, / i ja tak samo, / odverto / skažu za M. Semenkom, / ščo nyni / je / pid mojimy nohamy / Taras Hyrhorovyč Ševčenko. / Ne poet i revoljucioner, a — / mityčnyj / bat'ko-božok / tyx dlja koho / i šče ne vmerla / krajina / syvyx šapok. . ." ("Xorobryj tovaryš," *Nova generacija*, 1929, no. 10, p. 17).

xata group "parted ways much more radically" with the ideas of Franko and Jefremov "than [did] the 'Moloda muza' poets,"[67] or proclamations that "the Kievan *Ukrajins'ka xata* group carried forward the work of the 'Moloda muza' group, developing their ideological-aesthetic program to the extreme"[68] are wholly overstated.

If there is truth in the above statements, it lies only in the use of the words "extreme" and "radical." These terms are not applicable to *Ukrajins'ka xata*'s literary program, however, but only to its political and national ideology. Much more nationalistically inclined than its predecessors, the *Ukrajins'ka xata* group resented the older generation's tepid "Ukrainophilism,"[69] which, the group believed, could never create a true nation or culture. Its aesthetic program was largely contingent on this view and therefore, at heart, rather conservative. In many respects the group's literary attitudes, while peculiarly their own, also coincided with those of the older generation, and were thus poles apart from the positions held by the early Modernists.

Like pre-Modernist writers, *Ukrajins'ka xata* adhered to the notion of a utilitarian literature. However, as Sribljans'kyj put it, theirs was to be a "higher utilitarianism,"[70] stronger, bolder, and more reformist than the impotent whining and do-goodism of the nineteenth century. The journal's first issue stated the philosophy quite plainly:

> This land cannot throw off its moral and material poverty. . . . This is understandable because the Ukraine is enmeshed in darkness, deprived of education and the light of reason. . . . *Literature and science — these are the mighty and far-sighted leaders which point at the horizon of a better future and show the path to it.* . . . We believe that systematic, unwavering, and well-intentioned work will bring help and light into the dark Ukrainian home.[71] (emphasis mine)

Sribljans'kyj's own article in the same issue made this position even more clear: "The decline of the Ukrainian nation necessarily forces Ukrainians to turn to the national literature (*nacional'ne pys'menstvo*) that alone can stir the people, [that can] lead them out of darkness and

67 Bohdan Rubčak, "Probnyj let: Tlo dlja knyhy," in Jurij Luc'kyj, ed., *Ostap Luc'kyj — molodomuzec'* (New York, 1968), p. 40.

68 *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury u vos'my tomax,* 5: 343.

69 "*Ukrajins'ka xata* came out with a sharp critique of traditional petty actions and of the psychological remnants of so-called Ukrainophilism with its moderate liberalism, superficial democracy, loyalty, compromises, and orientation on alien social forces in the national liberation struggle." Bohac'kyj et al., *Ukrajins'ka xata (1900–1914),* p. 52.

70 Sribljans'kyj, "Pro Domo Sua," p. 418.

71 *Ukrajins'ka xata,* 1909, no. 1, pp. 2–5.

poverty onto the way of progress."[72] This was a far cry from early Modernists like Ostap Luc'kyj who pointedly objected to "social and patriotic tirades"[73] in literature, and others like Voronyj who paid "the greatest attention. . . to the aesthetic side of the work"[74] while agreeing with Baudelaire that "La poesie n'a pas la verité pour objet, elle n'a qu'elle-même."[75] The early Modernists may not have always lived up to their manifestos, but that does not alter the fact that a great programmatic difference lay between them and the *Ukrajins'ka xata* group.

Although they opposed Modernism's early ideological stance, Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan readily accepted the movement's reforms in language, style, vocabulary, and imagery. They took it upon themselves to give these elements a new ideological orientation, and in so doing probably influenced many Modernist writers (which may partly explain the increase in patriotic themes in late Ukrainian Modernist poetry). At any rate, the literary views of *Ukrajins'ka xata* stood somewhere between the poetics of the early Modernists and the patriotic desiderata of Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan. Beauty and "socially-patriotic tirades" were no longer incompatible, as these lines from Voronyj's own poem "Krasa" illustrate:

Мій друже, я красу люблю
Як рідну Україну.[76]

/My friend, I love beauty
As I love my dear Ukraine./

As his "Etjud pro futuryzm" shows, the only formal demands Sribljans'kyj then placed on poetry was that it be mellow and musical (p. 451), decent and elegant (p. 455). Aside from these vague qualities, the critic judged poetry according to how it reflected social and national aspirations: his remark that "Lepkyj's poetry is of great value because it is a portrayal of the present sorrow of the Ukraine"[77] is typical. In other respects, Sribljans'kyj was scornful of "aesthetes, admirers of beauty and pure art," whose increasing number he called "a real epidemic." To him, "Modernist" was not a positive designation. He observed that "In the press and in literature the noble populists and patriots dominate," and then added, "but the Modernists are creating a significant ruckus, as well" (p. 449).

[72] *Ukrajins'ka xata,* 1909, no. 1, p. 24.
[73] Luckyj, *Ostap Luc'kyj — molodomuzec',* p. 56.
[74] Mykola Voronyj, *Poeziji* (Xarkiv, 1929), p. 25.
[75] Voronyj, *Poeziji,* p. 324.
[76] Voronyj, *Poeziji,* p. 139.
[77] *Ukrajins'ka xata,* 1909, no. 1, p. 46.

Clearly Sribljans'kyj thought of Modernism as something separate from the literary views that *Ukrajins'ka xata* stood for. He admitted as much in later years:

Modernism in Ukrainian criticism refers to that current of literary-social thought that appeared in *Ukrajins'ka xata.* To a certain degree this is true. [It was] Modernism, but only in the sense of "newness," because *Xatjanstvo* never had anything to do with decadence in literature, nor with modernism in religion. Our modernism was a reappraisal of the Ukrainian movement, and our relationship to Ukrainian history, a reappraisal of our relationship to our revolutionary contemporaries, who created the 'revolution' of 1905, a reappraisal of our liberation ideology and the search for a new ideology of liberation.[78]

It becomes quite apparent, then, why Semenko was so violently rejected. He and *Ukrajins'ka xata* shared a commitment to radicalism, but the journal's commitment was basically political in nature, whereas Semenko's was literary. For the most part *Ukrajins'ka xata* was interested only in reforming the "spirit" (*dux*) of Ukrainian literature, and it was glad to harness Modernism's achievements to achieve that goal. Consequently, it doomed itself to literary inertia. Semenko, on the other hand, went beyond merely "spiritual" reform (which he accepted) to embrace literary reform, as well. He chose the approach that best reflected this bold new spirit, namely, Futurism.

Žurba's reminiscences as well as Sribljans'kyj's own reviews of Semenko's work show that the critic was, in theory, favorably disposed towards Futurism. Yet it is equally obvious that he appreciated only Futurism's "spirit," not its literary manifestation nor, certainly, its "trans-sense" experiments. Sribljans'kyj perceived literature primarily through the prism of ideology, and so was mortified by Semenko's rejection of Ševčenko. The renunciation of Ševčenko as a literary model so logical to the aesthete Semenko was inconceivable to the ideologue Sribljans'kyj, who saw Ševčenko's work as virtually the only literature which expressed the "rebellious" spirit. For Sribljans'kyj, Ševčenko was an eternal, irreplaceable model; for Semenko, he was an outdated one. Sribljans'kyj condemned the Ševčenko cult only when its impotent "Ukrainophile" nature was evident; in other cases, where he perceived the cult as beneficial to the national ideal, he was its firm defender.[79] Semenko, on the

[78] Quoted from Bohac'kyj et al., *Ukrajins'ka xata (1909–1914)*, p. 35.

[79] In "Etjud pro futuryzm" Sribljans'kyj described Ševčenko as "the creative stimulus for the rebirth of man in the Ukraine." A few years earlier he had rejoiced that "Ševčenko's name is everywhere surrounded by a joyous cult, wherever there are conscious Ukrainians . . . and no wonder! His name is the very content of the Ukrainian idea (*ukrajinstvo*). . . . The *Kobzar* has primarily an *organizing* . . . *educational* meaning"

other hand, was indifferent to Ševčenko's political significance. And inasmuch as he believed the "national" period in Ukrainian *art* to have ended (the *Kvero-futuryzm* manifesto), he rejected the cult on the universalist principle that it irrevocably led to bad literature. In Semenko's view, therefore, the cult had two drawbacks: it blinded the reader to the "real" Ševčenko — i.e., to the poet — and it sanctioned imitation of his style.

The question of a "national" vs. "universal" literature posited in *Kvero-futuryzm* became another issue which stirred controversy between *Ukrajins'ka xata,* on the one hand, and the early Modernists and Semenko, on the other. By the time the literary scandal occurred, the journal was retreating from one of the most characteristic literary features of Modernism, namely, the West European orientation. Previously, Voronyj had urged Ukrainian writers to produce literature which would "in content and in form at least approximate the new currents and directions in contemporary European culture."[80] O. Luc'kyj's manifesto referred to works by Nietzsche, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, and Baudelaire as examples of what literature should be. When Semenko proclaimed his "Kvero-futuryzm," he was acting on this same premise. But Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan reacted to his "Europeanism" by calling for a return to "national" roots.

The issue dividing Semenko from the two critics was stated succinctly by Jevšan: "A new creativity, well and good. But on what basis (*na jakomu hrunti*)?"[81] The critics' unequivocal answer was a resounding affirmation of the "national" foundation of literature. Both maintained that more was lost than gained by following "European fashions." Sribljans'kyj lamented: "We had all the most fashionable products of Europe, we discussed [Europe's] wisest words, but our Ukrainian cause — 'weeps like an orphan on the Dnieper'" (p. 463). Jevšan glanced at the "fashionable" literature and sighed: "It is a pity that there is no one who might defend the Ukrainian creative idea" (p. 272).

Jevšan argued that the problem with Ukrainian literature was that its

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(emphasis his; *Ukrajins'ka xata,* 1909, no. 1, p. 4). Sribljans'kyj's view of Ševčenko is surprisingly similar to Franko's. Compare the following statement by Franko in 1905, defending Ševčenko from the so-called Moscowphiles: "For a long time now our Moscowphiles have considered undermining Ševčenko's cult in our society. By doing so they hope to deprive this society of its major source of idealism, which gives it the zeal to work and raises its members from simple consumers of bread to the dignity of men" ("Mistyfikacija čy idiotyzm," *Tvory v dvadcjaty tomax,* 16: 344).

80 Voronyj, *Poeziji,* p. 25.

81 Jevšan, "'Suprema Lex,'" p. 271.

writers had never created a "real" national literature. He accused the writers of the nineteenth century, whom he called "eunuch-Ukrainophiles," of having killed Ukrainian national literature at its very inception (p. 270). The present dilemma in Ukrainian literature, according to Jevšan, stemmed from the fact that Ukrainian writers failed to follow the example of Kocjubyns'kyj's *Fata Morgana,* Kobyljans'ka's *Zemlja,* and Lesja Ukrajinka's *Lisova pisnja,* which, again according to Jevšan, had all been attempts at creating a national literature. Instead, says Jevšan, writers turned to Europe and began writing about "nerves, coffeehouses, night life, and trolley cars" (!), completely forgetting about Ukrainian issues. Jevšan used Semenko to exemplify this betrayal, but he implied that Semenko was part of a larger problem: "Tens of thousands from among the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Galicia and Bukovyna mock the Ukrainian element (*styxija*)" (p. 274). Jevšan ended his article with these words:

> This then is precisely the problem: the Ukrainian creative idea has begun to chase electric lamps, not having learned to examine life well in the light of the gas lamp. The blinding light has had a bad effect on the eyes and they squint and cannot discern the "nearest of objects." The "nearest of objects" in literature is the culture of the native word, that natural soil without which every creative work must emerge stunted and useless. . . . Let us reach for that beauty which contains the soul and thoughts of the Ukrainian people!! (p. 277)

Sribljans'kyj was so exasperated by Semenko's Europeanism that he called out: "My dear people, leave the latest words of Europe, and speak Ukrainian freely and loudly in your own home" (p. 463).

The gulf between Semenko and the two critics was enormous. In *Prélude,* Semenko had shown himself to be a Modernist of European orientation by his allusions to Villon, Musset, and Baudelaire. This tendency was developed even further in *Derzannja* and *Kvero-futuryzm.* In *Derzannja* he attacked "sincere" Ukrainian art; in *Kvero-futuryzm* he explicitly stated, "We desire, by means of an artificial movement (*stučnym ruxom*) to bring our art closer to those boundaries where universal art begins a new era."[82] Semenko not only aspired toward a universal art, but, moreover, he purposely criticized the "national" element in literature: for instance, "National traits in art are signs of its primitiveness."[83] In a poem written in 1914 he characteristically said:

[82] Quoted from Rod'ko, *Ukrajins'ka poezija peršyx požovtnevyx rokiv,* p. 144.
[83] Rod'ko, *Ukrajins'ka poezija peršyx požovtnevyx rokiv,* p. 144.

Немає нічого більш прекрасного
Як сьогоднішній день.
Я не дожену його тут
Кождого дня зостаюсь з-заду
Тут між своїми
Геть родичів — у серці моєму
Місця немає рідному всьому —
Рідним жити буду після 40 літ.
Геть усе що спиняє мене
Що шкодить моєму бігові
Що душу мою елястичну старить!
Лагідність тягне мене під рельси
Благополучіє мене вбиває
Не хочу слави тут
Між своїми де за мішок
Сміття та козацького вуса славу дадуть.
Що мені за діло до Київа та родичів
Коли про Семенка мусять марсіяне знать?[84]

Semenko's identification of the "national" element with primitiveness was unexpectedly and inadvertently confirmed by Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan. Patriotism and nationalism led the two critics to consider Ukrainian elements the measure of a literary work's merit. Thus, the critics' legitimate desire for political and cultural independence became an illegitimate hunt for Ukrainianisms in literature. Because they had found nearly all the Ukrainian past lacking in the appropriate spirit, they could define "Ukrainianism" essentially only in terms of Ševčenko. Sribljans'kyj saw Ševčenko not only as an ideal from the past, but as the light of the future: "We have *only one* great, phenomenal, insanely brave, pathetic, tearful Ševčenko, who was buried with his fists clenched. We have *only one* futurist, *only one* promising, blameless Ukrainian," wrote Sribljans'kyj (emphasis mine, p. 463). In his view, even the peasants were preferable to certain literary innovators: "You understand that every one of our peasants is a thousand times more a Ukrainian than you [i.e., Semenko and Futurism], a Muscovite product" (p. 463). Years earlier a similar view had motivated Sribljans'kyj to declare that Ukrainian literature had no real national character. Ukrainian literature, he had written, "cannot be called 'Ukrainian' in the *national* (*narodn'omu*) sense" (emphasis in the original). He went on to say: "Sometimes this was even a good literature, but it was not national (*'ale ne narodnja (nacional'na)'*).

[84] Semenko, "Duže ščyra poezijka," *Kobzar*, pp. 101–102.

[There was no] 'Ukrainianism' in it, as this is understood in the popular (*norodn'omu*), peasant (*mužyc'komu*) world."[85]

The *cul-de-sac* and faulty judgment this led to is graphically illustrated in Jevšan's article. Having rejected writers of Semenko's ilk, Jevšan turned to the ideas of Marija Proskurivna, a contemporary epigone of the dying ethnographic tradition (and, ironically, Semenko's mother!), and suddenly heralded this very minor and anachronistic writer as a literary reformer: "The soul rejoices, as if someone had brought into the stifling *city atmosphere* a bouquet of field flowers" (emphasis mine, pp. 274–75). The sensation was so pleasant, the Ukrainian elements in her works so attractive, that Jevšan was ready to suspend critical judgment: "The fresh, pleasant gust coming from this little book is so strong that one could even *overestimate* its literary qualities. Which wouldn't, after all, be a sin" (emphasis mine, p. 275). This reduction of Ukrainian culture to Ševčenko and the peasant milieu was, of course, hardly new. Ukrainian culture had always been conservative, for reasons which are not difficult to ascertain. As a culture under siege, its conservatism stressed those elements which most graphically and unambiguously defined Ukrainian life. Any breach of its eminently restricted but self-affirming boundaries was perceived as unpatriotic. Thus, when Franko looked towards Europe for literary models, or Kocjubyns'kyj wrote prose for the intelligentsia, or the Modernists devoted themselves to the principle of "beauty," they committed acts which were considered dangerous because they were not in some specific (usually thematic or ethnographic) way "Ukrainian."

The appearance of Semenko's Futurism and the reaction to it must be understood as part of this historical conservatism. It should be noted, too, that the inherent suspicion toward everything new (i.e., foreign) was especially aggravated in 1914 by the harsh repressions of the Russian government. Only months after the literary scandal broke, *Ukrajins'ka xata*, along with other Ukrainian journals, was banned, and one of its editors was exiled to Siberia.[86] Previously, the Russian government had forbidden the commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of Ševčenko's birth, which had triggered shockwaves of resentment in the Ukraine. Under such tense circumstances, Semenko's attack on the "national" principle in literature and his verbal burning of the *Kobzar* could readily have been misinterpreted as yet another instance of Rus-

[85] M. Sribljans'kyj, "Testimonium Paupertatis," *Ukrajins'ka xata*, September 1911, p. 407.

[86] See D. Dorošenko, *Moji spomyny pro nedavnje mynule, 1914–1920* (Munich, 1969), p. 21.

sian chauvinistic abuse. Sribljans'kyj came to precisely this conclusion: "The representatives of the two-headed eagle have burned the portrait of Ševčenko, and Semenko burned the *Kobzar*" (p. 457).

IV

> Отже й Семенка в українській літературі не можна вважати за випадкове непорозуміння.
>
> *Ф. Якубський*

Semenko was and continues to be the victim of a historical and literary misunderstanding. Far from being a "trickster," a "defamer" of Ševčenko, or a sower of "alien" literary fashions, Semenko was a literary reformer not unlike the earlier Voronyj and probably more important. He introduced Futurism into Ukrainian literature primarily as an attempt to remedy its rapidly deteriorating condition. Although critics such as Sribljans'kyj and Jevšan acknowledged Modernism's weakness (they often, indeed, referred to a crisis in Ukrainian literature), they viewed the problem as a deficiency in spirit and will, rather than in literary style and language. Modernism's failings as literature became fully apparent only after the Revolution, when such leading representatives as Čuprynka and even such outstanding ones as Oles' rapidly lost standing in the eyes of renowned critics.[87] Semenko must, therefore, be credited with giving both the earliest and the sharpest expression to the crisis, and with proposing a literary rather than an ideological solution.

Semenko's appearance in 1914 symbolized the end of one literary era as well as the beginning of another. His Futurism was the first of the many post-Modernist trends that were consciously committed to revitalizing Ukrainian literature and, in a broader sense, Ukrainian culture. This characteristic makes Futurism and Semenko the forerunners of the "renaissance" of the 1920s, particularly because the issues he raised in 1914 became staple fare in literary debates after the Revolution. The interest Semenko showed in modernizing Ukrainian art, the emphasis he placed on intrinsic literary problems, and the scorn he displayed toward provincial ("sincere") Ukrainian literature became of primary importance

[87] Cf. Fylypovyč's introduction to O. Oles', *Vybrani tvory*, 2nd ed. (n.p., 1929), reprinted in Pavlo Fylypovyč, *Literatura: Statti, rozvidky, ohljady* (New York, 1971). See also Mykola Zerov, "Poezija Olesja i sproba novoho jiji traktuvannja," in his *Do džerel* (State College, Pa., 1967), pp. 228–37.

in the next decade for such diverse literary groups as the Futurists and VAPLITE.

Doubtlessly Mykola Xvyl'ovyj recognized Semenko's role when he referred to him as a "tragic individual in the midst of our reactionary reality," and added, "for us the great 'peasant' Franko . . . is less important than the aesthete Semenko."[88] This statement, coming from one of Semenko's leading literary adversaries, can be considered a compliment as well as a strong indication that the so-called nationalist Xvyl'ovyj and the self-proclaimed internationalist Semenko had much more in common than normally meets the eye. It also helps to explain why, in the 1920s, writers such as M. Bažan, O. Slisarenko, and Ju. Špol could move from Futurism to VAPLITE without much self-contradiction. Some critics have interpreted their transition as yet another sign of Ukrainian Futurism's essential bankruptcy or inability to keep good writers. This is not so. It must be remembered that alongside the many similarities between Semenko and such groups as VAPLITE and the "Neoclassicists" stood one very important difference. Futurism was dedicated to an extreme avant-gardism, a relentless quest for the newest and most modern forms in art. The latter groups, on the other hand, were prone to fall back on more time-tested literary modes. Semenko was an avant-gardist, whereas his opponents were, so to speak, "Kulturträgers." Futurism's avant-gardist posture, "activism," and "antagonism"[89] necessarily kept the movement out of the literary mainstream, away from the majority of the reading public. To many writers this type of existence at the farthest outposts of literature — or, as the Futurists were fond of saying, "at the barricades" — became intolerable. Like Mykola Bažan, who began his literary career as a Futurist and then abandoned the movement, many writers "stopped dreaming about a new form of art, a thousand times more influential, stronger, and greater than the old."[90] They decided, instead, to give the sonnet and the ballad another try. VAPLITE suited such writers admirably: within the framework of this academy they could pursue many of Futurism's principles, without assuming its avant-gardist burdens.

In short, the great error of most critics has been to assume that Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism belonged to the same realm as VAPLITE, "Neoclassicism," "Lanka," or MARS.[91] This assumption resulted in un-

[88] M. Xvyl'ovyj, *Dumky proty tečiji* (Xarkiv, 1926), p. 52.

[89] Renato Paggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), pp. 27–40.

[90] "Zustrič na perexresnij stanciji: Rozmova tr'ox," in A. Lejtes and M. Jašek, *Desjat' rokiv ukrajins'koji literatury, 1917–1927*, vol. 2 (Xarkiv, 1930), p. 368.

[91] An exception was P. Bohac'kyj in his *S'ohočasni literaturni prjamuvannja* (1923).

favorable comparisons between those organizations and Futurism. But Semenko cannot be judged in this literary context. He is properly understood only within the avant-garde context of West European and Russian Futurism, Cubism, Constructivism, Dadaism, Expressionism, and even Surrealism. To judge him by other standards or theories is like judging abstract paintings by the standards of an earlier century.

Once this simple, yet important, fact is accepted, Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism take on a different aspect and their contribution to Ukrainian culture can begin to be correctly assessed. We may well have to reexamine the old, worn accusations that Semenko knew Europe and its trends less well than his "cultured" opponents: *Nova generacija* alone is enough to suggest that Semenko knew Europe (especially Germany) no less than did the "Kulturträgers." The main difference is that Semenko knew and advocated Europe in its most radical guises. In this respect he may well be considered the most European of his contemporaries and his movement one more important indicator of just how innovative Ukrainian literature became between 1914 and 1930. Ironically, Semenko and Futurism also prove how difficult it is for Ukrainian critical thought to keep abreast of developments in the arts, and how conservative and slow it has been in understanding its own literary process.

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DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS OF BOHDAN XMEL'NYC'KYJ

FRANK E. SYSYN

Wars, political turbulence, and neglect have destroyed most of the archives of the Cossack Hetmanate. Especially for the seventeenth century the historian of the Ukraine cannot turn to records kept by the Hetmanate's administration to study its domestic policy or foreign affairs. The Ukrainian hetmans' treaties, *universaly*, and other documents must often be sought among the archival materials of the institutions and individuals who received correspondence from their chanceries.

The study of a hetman's administration entails combing hundreds of libraries and archival collections in search of original documents or copies. Given the magnitude of the task, it is not surprising that no systematic collection or publication of all the hetmans' documents has been attempted. Thousands of documents have, of course, been published, but they are scattered in journal "archivalia" notes, in footnotes to articles, or in appendices. Searching for them is a time-consuming task that can dampen the dedication of any scholar.

Only for the founder of the Hetmanate, Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (1648–1657), has a collection of documents been compiled. In 1961, Ivan Kryp"jakevyč and Ivan Butyč published *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho,* which sought to include all the documents issued in Xmel'nyc'kyj's name by his chancery.[1] The volume was feasible because Xmel'nyc'kyj and his hetmancy have commanded the attention of many scholars over the last century and a half.[2] The legends of the 368 docu-

[1] *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho, 1648–1657,* comp. by I. Kryp"jakevyč and I. Butyč (Kiev, 1961). The volume was published by the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Instytut suspil'nyx nauk Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR) and the Archival Administration of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (Arxivne upravlinnja pry Radi ministriv Ukrajins'koji RSR).

[2] For a discussion of nineteenth-century historiography on the Xmel'nyc'kyj period, see Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 10 vols. (reprinted: New York, 1954–1957), 8, pt. 2: 211–24.

ments that had already been published reflect how frequently Xmel'nyc'kyj's documents were copied and recopied by his contemporaries and by subsequent generations, as well as how often they have been published and republished. Despite this great activity, however, the compilers included 107 documents previously unpublished. The new finds reflected their assiduous examination of the scholarly literature and their thorough searches of archives and libraries. Indeed, Ivan Kryp"jakevyč devoted most of his long and productive scholarly career to Xmel'nyc'kyj and his period.[3] The inclusion of so many new documents was also due to the intensive searches by Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian archivists for unknown documents of the Xmel'nyc'kyj period prior to the Soviet celebration in 1954 of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Perejaslav. These searches provided the materials for several of the most important Soviet source publications on early modern Ukrainian history and unearthed some of the documents included in *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho.*[4] The compilers of the volume assumed that other documents would subsequently be discovered, so they included a list of documents mentioned in the known sources and scholarly literature of which they had found neither originals nor copies. A reviewer of the volume did, in fact, publish a document that had been omitted.[5]

[3] For Kryp"jakevyč's works, see *Ivan Petrovyč Kryp"jakevyč: Bibliohrafičnyj pokažčyk,* comp. by O. D. Kizlyk (L'viv, 1966), published by the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR (Ministerstvo kul'tury Ukrajins'koji RSR), the L'viv State Scientific Library (L'vivs'ka deržavna naukova biblioteka), and the Institute of Social Sciences of L'viv State University (Instytut suspil'nyx nauk L'vivs'koho ordena Lenina deržavnoho universytetu im. I. Franka).

[4] The most comprehensive publication of the jubilee year was *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy z Rossiej: Dokumenty i materialy, 1620–1654,* ed. by P. P. Gudzenko et al., 3 vols. (Moscow, 1953–1954), published by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Institut istorii Akademii nauk SSSR) and the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Instytut istoriji Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR). It did, however, include many documents that had already been published. In 1965, a volume of hitherto unpublished documents found in Polish libraries and archives appeared: *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noj vojne ukrainskogo naroda, 1648–1654,* comp. by A. Z. Baraboj, I. L. Butič, A. N. Katrenko, and E. S. Kompan (Kiev, 1965), published by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and by the Archival Administration of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. This volume contains selections from a collection of photocopies that Polish scholars presented to the State Historical Archive (Deržavnyj istoryčnyj arxiv) in Kiev during the jubilee year. Summaries of the documents found in L'viv are published in *Vyzvol'na vijna ukrajins'koho narodu v 1648–1654 rr. Vozz"jednannja Ukrajiny z Rosijeju: Anotovanyj pokažčyk rukopysnyx materialiv biblioteky* (L'viv, 1954), published by the Manuscript Division, the L'viv Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Viddil rukopysiv L'vivs'koji biblioteky Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR).

[5] See Zbigniew Wójcik's review in *Kwartalnik Historyczny,* 1963, no. 4, pp. 990–93.

While working in Polish archives and libraries, I discovered fourteen documents not included in *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho* and the original of one document that the compilers had reprinted from a faulty nineteenth-century publication. The documents come from different manuscript collections and they deal with unrelated problems throughout Xmel'nyc'kyj's hetmancy. Indeed, the documents have only one characteristic in common: they reflect my research for a biography of Adam Kysil', palatine of Braclav (1648–1649) and later of Kiev (1649–1653). Eleven of the fifteen documents are letters from Xmel'nyc'kyj to Kysil', who was a frequent negotiator for the Polish-Lithuanian government and the leader of the faction that favored reaching an accommodation with Xmel'nyc'kyj. Although the letters from Xmel'nyc'kyj to Kysil' give considerable new information about the relations between these two Ukrainian statesmen, they do not deal with any one aspect of their varied and intricate contacts.

The letters that follow are not, then, a source to any specific problem, but, rather, an addendum to the volume of Xmel'nyc'kyj's documents. Their discovery should encourage other historians to regard the volume as incomplete and to search carefully for new documents. If an archival search confined to Polish collections and devoted to a man who lived only until 1653 yielded fifteen new documents, a systematic search encompassing Soviet archives would undoubtedly yield scores of unpublished documents and additional copies of documents already published. Eventually, a new edition of *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho* should result.

The preface to each document published here gives a description of the manuscript source and a summary. Ten of the documents (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15) come from a number of manuscripts, most of which have long been available to scholars and seem merely to have been insufficiently examined. The other five (nos. 5, 6, 10, 11, 13) come from one little-known manuscript in the Main Archive of Ancient Acts (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych) in Warsaw. This manuscript, held in section 6 of the Radziwiłł family archive, does not yet have permanent pagination or a permanent call number (its temporary call number is "A.R. VI/akta niezinwentaryzowane/, nr. inw. 36, 'Listy, ułamki listów i diariusza Janusza Radziwiłła z lat 1649–1651'"). The manuscript is part of the record book of the Lithuanian hetman Janusz Radziwiłł for 1649 to 1652. Two other parts are in Cracow's Jagiellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska): ms. 7513 (May–June 1651) and ms. 3595 (June–July 1652). Copies of some documents in the manuscript were made in the

nineteenth century and now form part of ms. 1286 in the Polish Academy of Sciences Library at Kórnik (Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Kórnicka). The record book is a major unused source for the Xmel'nyc'kyj period. It is especially important for its information about the winter of 1651-1652, a time for which few other documents exist.

The fourteen documents written in Polish are published in accordance with the rules for early modern historical documents used in Polish publications.[6] The one Ukrainian document retains the original orthography. Whenever possible, I have identified the individuals mentioned and have given current versions and locations of placenames.[7] I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. Bohdan Strumins'kyj, for his invaluable help in deciphering the documents and preparing them for publication.

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ABBREVIATIONS THAT OCCUR IN THE DOCUMENTS*

Ich Ṁ.M.	Ich Mości(e) Miłościwi
Ich M.M.P.P.	Ichmości(e) Miłościwi Panowie
Ich Mśi, Ich Mściów, etc.	Ich Mości(e), Ich Mościów, etc.
J.K.M., J.M.Mści	Jego Królewska Mość, Jego Królewskiej Mości
J.M., J.Mści	Jegomość, Jegomości
J.M.P.	Jegomość Pan
J.P.	Jaśnie Pan
K.J.M.	Król Jegomość
K(r).M., K(r).Mści	Królewska Mość, Królewskiej Mości
M.	Mój
Mciwy, Młciwy, Mśc, M., Mci, Mści	Miłościwy
Młciwego, Mściwego, Mściego	Miłościwego

[6] K. Lepszy, ed., *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla zródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1953).

[7] Once places are identified by their present-day names, the reader is directed to the appropriate volume of *Istorija mist i sil v dvadcjaty šesty tomax*, ed. by P. T. Tron'ko et al., 26 vols. (Kiev, 1967-1974). Additional information on the history of places can be found in *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. by Filip Sulimirski, Bronisław Chlebowski, and Władysław Walewski, 15 vols. in 16 bks. (Warsaw, 1880-1902) (hereafter *Słownik geograficzny*). The individuals mentioned in the documents are identified in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 22 vols. to date (Cracow and Warsaw, 1935-). For information about centers of the Cossack administration, see George Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 2 pts. (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).

* This table gives explanations for abbreviations that have not been written out in full.

N.	Nasz
N.M.	Najjaśniejszy Mój
N.W.Mciwych	Najjaśniejszych Wielce Miłościwych
P.	Pan
PP.	Panowie
P.N.	Pan Nasz
Rpta, R.P., Rzpta	Rzeczpospolita
ś.	święty
ś.p.	świętej pamięci
W.K.M.	Wasza Królewska Mość
W.M.	Waszmość
W.M.M.M., W.M.M.	Waszmość Mój Miłościwy
W.M.M.M.P., W.M.M.P.	Waszmość Mój Miłościwy Pan
W.M.N.	Waszmość Najjaśniejszy
W.N.M. (W.M.N.M.)	Waszmość Najjaśniejszy Mój
W.M.N.Mciwy	Waszmość Najjaśniejszy Miłościwy
W.N.M.P.	Waszmość Najjaśniejszy Mój Pan
Wda	Wojewoda
Wdo	Wojewodo
Zaporow.	Zaporowski

Document 1

Pavoloč, 30 July 1648 n.s.

Universal issued by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj. Kryp"jakevyč and Butyč included this document in the list of those they were unable to find (p. 654). Xmel'nyc'kyj seeks to protect the estates of Prince Władysław Dominik Zasławski, located near Ostroh in Volhynia. This is part of his effort to win the wealthy magnate's neutrality in the early phase of the Cossack uprising.

Copy, Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Krakowa i Województwa Krakowskiego, Zbiory Rusieckich, ms. 41, p. 29.

Bohdan Chmielnicki, Hetman Wojska Jego K.M. Zaporoskiego wszem wobec i każdemu z osobna, komu o tym wiedzieć należy, mianowicie kozakom z Wojska naszego Zaporoskiego i tym wszytkim, którzy jedno teraz pod różnemi pułkami, tak w nowych kupach jako i co by się miało zbierać, surowo napominając, do wiadomości przynoszę, iż my z Wojskiem naszym Zaporoskim, doznawając wielkiej miłości Jaśnie Oświeconego Księcia, Jego Miłości Władysława Domi-

nika[1] na Ostrogu[2] i Zasławiu,[3] hrabi na Tarnowie, wojewody sędomirskiego, łuckiego etc., starosty pana naszego miłościwego, który z przodków swych wielką łaskę Wojsku Zaporoskiemu oświadcza, a teraz za zadatkiem dawnej przyjaźni nam i wszytkiemu Wojsku Zaporoskiemu, przez Księcia Wiszniowieckiego[4] gdzie ta wojna wszcząć się musiała, przeto tedy jeśliby ten ogień w tak prędkim czasie ugasić się nie mógł a przyszłaby nam prześć ku majętnościom Księcia Jego Miłości Zasławskiego, to jest do miasta Ostroga i wszytkich pól do nich należących, aby żaden się z Wojska Zaporoskiego nie ważył, i któregobykolwiek pułku, aby się nie ważył po tych majętnościach bywać i stanowiska odprawować ani żadnych szkód i krzywd czynić nie miał. A gdyby się pokazało na któregokolwiek pułkownika z pułku jego aby też na którą czatę, aby miał krzywdę czynić, takowy każdy za najmniejszą skargą surowego karania na gardle według Artykułów ostrości Wojska Zaporoskiego karany będzie [od] tego pułku pułkownika. Każdego przestrzegać mają i gardłem karać. A gdyby pułkownik nie uczynił sprawiedliwości słusznej, tedy sam od nas karany gardłem będzie.

Datum w Pawołoczy[5] 20 julii millesimo 648.

Bohdan Chmielnicki ręką swą.

[1] Władysław Dominik Zasławski (d. 1656), palatine of Sandomierz (1645) and later of Cracow (1649), was one of the triumvirate leading the Polish Army after the hetmans had been taken captive in May 1648. For additional information, see s.v. "Zasław," *Słownik geograficzny*, 14: 445–46.

[2] Ostroh is now the center of a raion in the Rovno oblast. *Rovens'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 431–46.

[3] Zasław or Zaslavl', currently Izjaslav, is the center of a raion in the Xmel'nyc'kyj oblast. *Xmel'nyc'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1971), pp. 263–74. *Słownik geograficzny*, 14: 443–48.

[4] Jeremi Wiśniowiecki (Vyšnevec'kyj; 1619–1651) was a powerful magnate who resided in the eastern Ukrainian territories. In the summer of 1648 he led the faction that favored resistance against the Cossacks. For a biography of the controversial Wiśniowiecki, see Władysław Tomkiewicz, *Jeremi Wiśniowiecki (1612–1651)*, Rozprawy Historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, vol. 12 (Warsaw, 1933).

[5] Pavoloč, a village located in the Popil'nja raion of the Žytomyr oblast. *Žytomyrs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 578–79. *Słownik geograficzny*, 7: 916–25.

Document 2

N.p., undated [mid-August 1649]

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj discusses the terms of the Zboriv agreement. He thanks Kysil' for his assistance in interceding with King Jan Kazimierz. The article he is willing to put off until the next diet is probably that about the return of church properties and the place of the Orthodox metropolitan in the senate.

Copy, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, ms. Steinwehr IF 37 [111], f. 373.[1]

Jaśnie Wielmożny Miłościwy Panie Wojewodo Kijowski[2] a mnie wielce Miłościwy Panie i Dobrodzieju!

Za oświadczone łaski i przyjaźni W.M.M.M.P. w potrzebach moich do J.K.M.[3] wielce a uniżenie dziękuję, pewien tego będąc, że przy łasce P. i staraniu W.M.M.P. mogę to z miłościwej łaski J.K.M., o co proszę, wszytko otrzymać. Z strony onego punktu, który J.K.M. zawieszać raczy do Sejmu przyszłego, niech i tak będzie. Spuszczę się ja na wolą i łaską J.K.M. tudzież i do końca na staranie W.M.M.P., któremu także właśnie o to idzie, jako i mnie samemu i wszytkiemu narodowi religiej greckiej. Przy tym daj Panie Boże, abym ja zawsze z dobrego zdrowia W.M.M.M. Pana mógł się na długie lata ucieszyć. Dan, skoro zapisan.

W.M.M.M. Pana najniższy sługa Bohdan Chmielnicki.

[1] I wish to thank Professor Andrew Pernal for providing me with a photocopy of ms. Steinwehr IF 37 [III], f. 373, which contains documents 2, 3, and 4.

[2] Adam Kysil' (1600?-1653), palatine of Kiev from 1649 to 1653, was the most important Ukrainian Orthodox noble in the Commonwealth and an influential proponent of accommodation with the Cossacks. See the entry by Zbigniew Wójcik in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 12: 487-91.

[3] During the first years of his reign, Jan Kazimierz (1648-1668) supported the peace party's efforts to come to an accommodation with Xmel'nyc'kyj.

Document 3

From military camp, 18 August 1649 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj discusses the terms for carrying on the peace negotiations at Zboriv. He lodges complaints against his previous mistreatment by Daniel Czapliński,[1] the podstarosta *of Čyhyryn.*[2]

Copy, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, ms. Steinwehr IF 37 [111], f. 373.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Miłościwy Panie Wojewodo Kijowski!

List W.M.M.M. Pana oddano mi przy bytności Ich M.M.PP. posłów J.K.M., z którymi dostatecznie rozmówiłoć się tak o miejscu, gdziebyśmy do uspokojenia zjeżdżali, jako i o tym, jakoby wojsko, tak tatarskie jako i nasze, nie zbliżało się. I tam wyślę z swej strony z kilka osób i sam tam nadjadę. Tylko W.M.M.M. Pan racz w to potrafieć, jakobym ja z tego Czaplińskiego skuteczną a nieodwłoczną na tej komisyjej sprawiedliwość odniósł. A my wszyscy jako przedtym też roźlania krwie nie życzeli, tak i teraz pod nogi Majestatu J.K.M. upadłszy, nie życzemy, tylko by ten nieprzyjaciel mój karanie srogie odniósł. Mogłeś też W.M.M.M. Pan wyrozumieć ze mnie dobrze, że ja wierny poddany jestem J.K.M., i życzemy tego

wszyscy, aby J.K.M. był panem naszym miłościwym i dobrodziejem i mocnym panem. Oddaję się przy tym z powolnością moją łasce W.M.M.M.P.

W taborze die 18 augusti 1649.

1 For information on Czapliński see the entry by Eugeniusz Latacz in *Polski slownik biograficzny*, 4: 175–76.
2 Čyhyryn is now the center of a raion in the Čerkasy oblast. *Čerkas'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 655–68.

Document 4

From military camp, 19 August 1649 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj seeks confirmation of the title to the estate at Subotiv that he was granted by Władysław IV. He returns the terms of the Zboriv agreement to Kysil'. He asks that since King Jan Kazimierz has granted the starostwo *(royal lands and office) of Čyhyryn to the office of the Zaporozhian hetman, he order the Crown standard bearer, Aleksander Koniecpolski, to give up his charter to these lands so as to avoid future border disputes.*

Copy, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, ms. Steinwehr IF 37 [111], f. 373.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mci Panie Wojewodo Kijowski, etc.!

Pamiętno W.M.M.M.P. dobrze, jakiem prawo ukazował na ten ubogi spłacheć, który mi z łaski ś.p. K.J.M.[1] przywilejem konferowano. Teraz wielce proszę W.M.M.M.P., racz W.M. powagą swoją włożyć się w to do J.K.M., aby z miłościwej łaski swej potwierdził przywilejem teraźniejszym Sobotów[2] według okoliczności owego prawem wieczystym.

A te punkta przepisawszy W.M.M.M.P. odsełam, według których Wojsko nasze jest ukontentowane.

Oddaję się przy tym z powinnością moją łasce W.M.M.P. die 19 aug. w taborze.

Ceduła: Ponieważ jest ta wola a miłościwa łaska J.K.M. na buławę hetmańtwa Wojska swego Zaporowskiego Czehryń[3] puścić, uniżenie proszę, aby J.K.M. przywilej czehryński J.M.P. Chorążego Koronnego[4] rozkazał nam oddać, który on ma i teraz w rękach swych. Abyśmy z nim nie mieli znowu o granice jakiego hałasu, racz W.M.M.M.Pan i Dobrodziej w to się włożyć.

1 Władysław IV (1595–1648) reigned as king from 1632 until his death. Toward the end of his reign, Władysław's plans for a war against the Ottomans involved him in a complex web of intrigue. The nature of his contacts with the Cossacks prior to 1648 has been one of the most troubling questions about the causes of Xmel'nyc'kyj's uprising.

On Władysław's reign, see Władysław Czapliński, *Władysław IV i jego czasy* (Warsaw, 1972). For a discussion of his plans for a war against the Ottomans, see Wiktor Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV* (Cracow, 1895). On Xmel'nyc'kyj's contacts with Władysław and the king's conferral of Subotiv, see I. P. Kryp"jakevyč, *Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj* (Kiev, 1954), pp. 79–81.

[2] Subotiv is a village in the Čyhyryn raion of the Čerkasy oblast. *Čerkas'ka oblast'*, pp. 688-95.
[3] Čyhyryn; see doc. 3, fn. 2.
[4] Aleksander Koniecpolski (1620-1659), Crown standard bearer, had been appointed *starosta* of Čyhyryn in 1633 and had tried to gain control of Xmel'nyc'kyj's estate at Subotiv. For information on Koniecpolski, see the entry by Adam Przyboś in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 13: 513-16.

Document 5

Orlovec', 26 August 1650 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj asks Kysil', one of the formulators of the Zboriv agreement, to protest the actions of Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, the castellan of Cracow. He complains bitterly that Potocki has unjustifiably punished two Cossack sotnyky. *Xmel'nyc'kyj asserts that this is part of a policy to expel the Cossacks from the palatinate of Braclav and from the Nižyn area. He charges that Potocki is attempting to take advantage of the absence of the Cossacks, who have gone to serve the Crimean khan, Islam Girey III. The letter justifies the Cossacks' mobilization.*

Copy, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, A.R. VI, ms. 36.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mciwy Panie Wda Kijowski, mój Wielce Mciwy Panie i Bracie!

Pisać W.M.M.M.Pan raczysz, abym oznajmił W.M., co za przyczyna iścia mego z Wojskiem Zaporoskim do obozu. Zrozumiawszy z onego listu J.M.Pana Krakowskiego,[1] któregom kopią spisawszy do W.M.M.M.Pana odesłał, i zaś znowu że J.M.Pan Krakowski dwóch setników pułku Bracławskiego kazał bezwinnie ułapiwszy do turmy porzucić i z tych to miar do mnie tak pisze, że jako Hetman Wielki Koronny mocen sam sobie sprawiedliwość uczynić. Teraz ni zacz, nie przecz począł J.M. setników jakich łapać, a potym zechce kogo lepszego — i postanowione pakta świętego pokoju z J.K.M. i R.P. rozrusza, mianowicie tym nad postanowione, z bracławskiego województwa aby kozaków nie było i z niżyńskiej[2] włości J.M. Co właśnie z pisania J.M. zrozumiawszy, żem [= że on], rozumiejąc to, że trochę, część Wojska naszego Zaporoskiego są odesłani na potrzebę Chanowi Krymskiemu[3] i że Orda tam się powrócili, umyślił podobno pewnie, jakośmy o tym dobrze słyszeli, tymczasem nas w niegotowości naszej znosić. A toż, jeżeli jest wola J.M., niechajże! Nie pojedynkiem! Cokolwiek Pan Bóg poda, na tym przestawać będziemy. A o tym ślubuję W.M.M.M.Panu, że ja do wojny tej, jako zrazu, i teraz początkiem nie będę. Jeżeli stanę sobie obozem w ostrożności a ktokolwiek będzie na nas następował, Pana Boga będziemy prosić o obronę.

Przy tym z uniżonemi służbami memi łasce W.M.M.M.Pana braterskiej pilnie się polecam.

W Orłowcu.[4]

[1] Mikołaj Potocki (d. 1651), castellan of Cracow and Crown hetman, conducted a militant anti-Cossack policy after he was ransomed from Tatar captivity in the spring of 1650. For Potocki's biography, see [Kasper Niesiecki] S.J., *Herbarz Polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S.J. powiększony dodatkami późniejszych autorów, rękopisów, dowodów urzędowych,* ed. by Jan Nep. Borowicz, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1839–1846), 7: 451–53. About Potocki's anti-Cossack activities and his letter to Xmel'nyc'kyj, see Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 9: pt. 1: 65–80.
[2] Nižyn, a city and raion center of the Černihiv oblast. *Černihivs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 423–44.
[3] About Islam Giray (1644–1654) see Halil İnalcık, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 5, pt. 1 (Istanbul, 1950), pp. 1105–1108, and Alexandre Bennigsen, ed., *Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı* (Paris and The Hague, 1978), pp. 341–42.
[4] Orlovec', a settlement in the Horodyšče raion of the Čerkasy oblast. *Čerkas'ka oblast',* p. 163. *Słownik geograficzny,* 7: 591.

Document 6

Horodkivka (Miastkówka), 16 September 1650 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj reports on the joint Cossack-Tatar expedition to Moldavia. He asserts that he has fulfilled Kysil''s request and prevailed upon the Tatars not to launch an attack against Muscovy. He complains about the aggressive actions of Hetman Mikołaj Potocki. In response to Kysil''s concern over whether to remain in Kiev or retire to the Polish territories, Xmel'nyc'kyj replies that Kysil' must make the decision himself. The letter reflects the declining relations between Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Polish-Lithuanian authorities after the death of the leader of the peace party, Crown Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński.[1]

Copy, Archiwum Główne akt Dawnych, A.R. VI, ms. 36.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mciwy Panie Wda Kijowski, mój Wielce Mciwy Panie i Bracie!

Pisać W.M.M.M.Pan raczysz o chodzie naszym — gdzie się obracamy. Teraz ku Dniestrowi przychodzimy.

Na co było lepiej, jakieśmy z sobą zjechawszy się w Warklijowie [*sic*][2] barzo dobrze z sobą postanowili! A żeś mi W.M. tej wojny moskiewskiej pożałował! Jakoż i nam żałośno tego było! O czym przy W.M. zaraz z Arklijowa[2] posłałem posłańców swoich przeciwko Sołtanu Gałdzie,[3] aby i on tej wojny poniechał. Jakoż i uczynił to na żądanie nasze i zaraz do Wołoch, mając przy sobie wojska tatarskie i czerkieskie, we troje tego jako tak rok pod Zbarażem![4] Nie chcieli z niszczym nazad się powrócić. Nie odprawiwszy posłów moich, przez Koczbyjów[5] przeprawili się na tę stronę Dniepru i minąwszy Czyhyryń, dziesięć mil ku wołoskim krajom, do Bukowych Miast,[6] o których W.M. wiedzieć raczysz, dał mi znać, że już w drogę powrócił. O czym zarazem do niego wyprawiłem był, aby jakokolwiek i Wołochów poniechał. Ale żadną miarą nie mogłem mu rozradzić. Dając tę przyczynę, że "Wołochowie nie tylko nam, Tatarom, ale i wam samym są wielkiemi zdrajcami. Po dwa razy, gdyśmy byli na usłudze waszej, powracających się nazad niemal [= nie masz] ozadków naszych." I do nas przysłał, żądając

Wojska Zaporoskiego, abyśmy im także usługami naszemi to nagrodzili, jako i oni nam. Jakoż przecie, mając wzgląd na chrześcijaństwo swoje, nie tak ostro następuję. Tylko mi o to idzie, aby ich kto z boku nie ważył się gromić — dla posiłku ku nim się bierzemy.

Nic by z tego wszytkiego nie było, kieby nie J.M.P. Krakowski wszytko to im sprawił buntami swemi, o których W.M. wiedzieć raczysz. Wszytko Wojsko barzo potrwożył, żeśmy i gwoli Sołtanowi J.Mci,[3] i gwoli sobie, będący w niebezpieczeństwie, musieliśmy też do ostrożności przyść.

Z strony zadzierki między wojskiem polskim a naszym kozackim już my za siebie ślubujemy, jako zrazu, i teraz Bóg świadkiem, żeśmy żadnej przyczyny nigdy nikomu nie dawali i teraz nie myślimy. Tylko to barzo Wojsko Zaporoskie boli, że J.M.P. Krakowski[7] postanowione pakta do pokoju świętego gwałtownie wzrusza, jakom pierwej o tym W.M.M.M.Pana oznajmił. Słysząc to, od J.Mci, trudno, się mamy ubezpieczać. Zaczym i teraz ta uboga ziemica ni przez kogo innego, tylko przez niepotrzebny obóz P. Krakowskiego ginie, co nie tylko W.M.M.M.Pan, który świadom wszytkich sposobów naszych i cudzoziemskich, ale i kożdy cnotliwy tego nie pochwali. My byśmy, jako żywo, i Orda by nie była, gdyby nie J.M.P. Krakowski do tego przyczyną nie był.

A co z strony życia swego W.M.M.M.Pan pisać raczysz — czy w Kijowie, czy do Polski jechać, na woli to jest W.M.M.M.Pana, gdyż już W.M. masz od nas uniwersał przejeżdży. Jakoż z łaski Bożej teraźniejszym chodem naszym jeszcze nigdy nikogo, nie tylko z braci naszej ruskiej, ale i z szlachty polskiej nie zaczepali i zaczepać nie będą. Jeżeli J.M.Pan Krakowski niewdzięczen takowej łaski i postanowienia J.K.M. z nami postanowionego, to wolno J.Mci! Tam, gdy [= gdzie?] Pan Bóg, nabliżymy się, przez posły swoje zniesiemy się!

A na ten czas z uniżonemi służbami swymi łasce się W.M.M.M.P. zalecam.

Pisan z Miastkoroki [Miastkówki][8] die 16 septembris 650.

1 The death of Crown Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński (1595–1650) in August 1650 weakened the position of the peace advocates in the ruling circles of the Commonwealth. On Ossoliński's career, see Ludwik Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński*, 2nd rev. ed. (Warsaw and L'viv, 1923). This work is volume one of *Dzieła Ludwika Kubali: Wydanie zbiorowe*, 2 vols. (Warsaw and L'viv, 1923–24).

2 *Arkliiów* is an alternate spelling for Orkliiów, in Ukrainian Irklijiv, which is located in the Čornobaj raion of the Čerkasy oblast. See *Čerkas'ka oblast'*, pp. 714–21. Also see *Słownik geograficzny*, 3: 300–301.

3 Qirim Giray, brother of Islam Giray, was assistant or qalya sultan from 1644 to 1651. *Hadży Mehmed Senai z Krymu: Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, trans., ed., and prepared by Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, scholarly editor Zbigniew Wójcik (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 152–53.

4 The siege of Zbaraż occurred from 30 June to mid-August 1649. The defeat of a relief column led by King Jan Kazimierz resulted in the signing of the Zboriv agreement.

5 Koczbyjów may be Chanbieków (Chasbeków, Hadzbeków) on the Stuhna River. See Aleksander Jabłonowski, *Polska XVI wieku*, vol. 11: *Ziemie Ruskie-Ukraina (Kijów-Bracław)* (Warsaw, 1898), p. 677.

6 For a description of the Tatar campaign against Moldavia, see Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrainy-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1: 88–97.

[7] Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki; see doc. 5, fn. 1.
[8] I have determined that the letter was written at Miastkówka, in the region of Jampil', Xmel'nyc'kyj's base of activity during this time. *Słownik geograficzny*, 6: 289. Miastkówka, now named Horodkivka, is in the Kryžopil' raion of the Vinnycja oblast. See *Vinnyc'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), p. 351.

Document 7

Cossack camp near Bila Cerkva, 23 August 1651 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj requests Kysil''s assistance in interceding with Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki and Field Hetman Marcin Kalinowski. Xmel'nyc'kyj sought a negotiated settlement after he was defeated at Berestečko (June 28–30), but rallied his forces sufficiently to avert total defeat. He requests information from Kysil' about events in the Crimea and Istanbul. The Crimean Tatars had abandoned Xmel'nyc'kyj after Berestečko, and the hetman feared that they might turn against the Cossack forces, possibly in alliance with the victorious Commonwealth.

Copy, Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Krakowa i Województwa Krakowskiego, Archiwum Rodziny Pinnocich, ms. 363, p. 635. Kryp"jakevyč and Butyč list another copy of this document as having been held by the Biblioteka Krasińskich, which was destroyed during World War II (p. 658).

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mci Panie Wdo Kijowski, nasz Wielce Mci Panie i Dobrodzieju!

Jakośmy przedtym W.N.M.Pana, nie sadząc się na dwu drzewach, prosili, tak i teraz prosimy, abyś W.M.N.M. Pan swą senatorską powagą włożył się w to i być przyczyną do Ich M.M. Panów Hetmanów,[1] N.W.Mciwych Panów, jakoby się więcej już krew chrześcijańska nie rozlewała z obudwu stron, jakoby już pokój ś. pożądany przez staranie W.N.M.Pana jak najprędzej do efektu przyść mógł. Wiemy o tym dobrze, że W.M.N.M.Pan częste nowiny tak z Krymu jako i z Stambołu masz, my zaś żadnych nie mamy. Wszytko jednak pominąwszy, i po wtóre N.M.Pana prosimy, abyś przez pewne media chrześcijaństwo uspokoić raczył.

Oddawamy się przy tym z unizonemi posługami naszemi łasce W.N.M.Pana jako najpilniej.

Dan z taboru wielkiego[2] 23 augusti anno 1651.

W.N.M.Pana i Dobrodzieja życzliwi i najniżsi słudzy
Bohdan Chmielnicki z Wojskiem J.K.M. Zaporow.

[1] For information about Crown Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, see doc. 5, fn. 1. For information on Crown Field Hetman Marcin Kalinowski (1605?–1652), palatine of Černihiv, see the entry by Władysław Czapliński in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 11: 462–63.
[2] The Cossack camp near Bila Cerkva. See *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho*, p. 668, for Xmel'nyc'kyj's location in August and September 1651.

Document 8

Cossack camp near Bila Cerkva, 7 September 1651 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj solicits Kysil''s assistance in furthering peace negotiations. He mentions an agreement between Crown Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski and Cossack Hetman Petro Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyj as the model of one that did not require an immediate reduction in the number of Cossacks. Xmel'nyc'kyj thanks Kysil' for the advice he sent through (Samuel?) Nachorecki and explains why he has been unable to follow it. Xmel'nyc'kyj assures Kysil' that he is not concerned with the position of the nobility's serfs, but only with the rights of the Cossacks.

Copy, Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Krakowa i Województwa Krakowskiego, Archiwum Rodziny Pinnocich, ms. 363, pp. 635–36.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mci Panie Wdo Kijowski, mój Wielce Mci Panie i Bracie!

Wierna praca W.N.M.Pana jawna jest Panu Bogu i wszytkiemu światu, że W.M.N.M.Pan starasz się usilnie o to, jakoby się krew chrześcijańska nie rozlewała, jedno jako u nas tak u W.M. dobrym siła złorzeczy, i to siły zobopólne według mowy naszej w Boklijowie [Arklijowie][1] obrócone były. Teraz W.N.M.Pan do końca pracować chciej i rady tej mojej racz posłuchać a pokój nieodwłoczny uczynić takim sposobem, żeby wojska W.M.M.Panów i nasze rozeszły się i Ich M.PP. Komisarze wysadzeni byli na czas od W.N.M.Pana naznaczony. Wiesz W.N.M.P., wiesz W.N.M.Pan sam dobrze, jako nieboszczyk sławnej pamięci Pan Żółkiewski z Sahajdacznym bez rozlania krwi obeszli się i zgodę uczyniwszy wypisu zaraz nie czynili, aż na potym.[2] Tak i W.M.N.Mciwi PP. teraz potrafiajcie, żeby zobopólnie nie ginąć, a ja przysięgam Bogu w Trójcy jedynemu, że szczerze do pokoju skłoniam się (ktoby onego nie życzył, niechaj go Bóg skarze!) i potrafiam tak, jakoby najlepiej było, co W.N.M.Pan zlecił J.M.Panu Nachoreckiemu,[3] wszytkiego wysłuchawszy. Tylko teraz przed tym tumultem nic uczynić nie możemy. Lepiej powoli sprawować, gdyby się wszytko rozeszło, co obszerniej posłańcom naszym zleciliśmy. Racz W.M.M.M.Pan to jak najprędzej sprawować, abyśmy w zobopólnym pokoju bezpiecznie zostawać mogli. I Ich M.PP. Komisarze[4] na pewne miejsce, to jest do Białej Cerkwi[5] zjachać niechaj raczą, to, co potrzebnego będzie, statecznie postanawiając. Do tegoż nam, jako W.M. sam wiesz, za cudzych poddanych i chłopów nie bić się, tylko o swoje wolności nam idzie. Ten tedy list do W.M.M.Pana posyłając, upraszam, aby W.M.M.Pan jak najprędzej do efektu rzecz przyprowadzić raczył.

Czego po W.M.M.M.Panu pewnym będąc, że pilnować i starania przyłożyć raczysz, oddaję się zatym jak najpilniej z usługami memi łasce W.M.M.Pana.

Z taboru[6] 7 septembris 1651.

W.M.N.M.Pana cale życzliwy brat i sługa Bohdan Chmielnicki,

Hetman Wojska J.K.M. Zaporowskiego.

1 The first two letters of the placename are indistinct. Although they appear to be "Bo," they are probably a distortion of "Ar," because Xmel'nyc'kyj seems to be referring to his meeting with Kysil' at Irklijiv (Arklijów) in August 1650. See Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 9, pt. 1: 66–68.
2 Xmel'nyc'kyj is referring to the agreement between the Cossack hetman Petro Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyj (d. 1622) and the Crown hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski (d. 1620) of 28 October 1617. For a bibliography on Sahajdačnyj, see the entry by Wiesław Majewski in *Polski słownik biograficzny,* 13: 484–86.
3 Nachorecki (Nahorec'kyj), *starosta* of Lubny, a servitor of Wiśniowiecki, appeared at Xmel'nyc'kyj's camp in October 1650 on a mission to regain his patron's properties. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 9, pt. 1: 18. In August and September 1651, he served as an emissary in the Bila Cerkva negotiations. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 9, pt. 1: 353. This Nachorecki is either Samuel, *cześnik* of Braclav, or his son Samuel, mentioned in Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski,* 6: 510.
4 Commissioners for peace negotiations.
5 Bila Cerkva is a raion center in the Kiev oblast. *Kyjivs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1971), pp. 99–123.
6 The Cossack camp near Bila Cerkva.

Document 9

Cossack camp near Bila Cerkva, 7 September 1651 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj explains the delay in the return of Kysil''s emissary Nachorecki. He urges Kysil' to help find a resolution to hostilities.

Copy, Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Krakowa i Województwa Krakowskiego, Archiwum Rodziny Pinnocich, ms. 363, pp. 636–37.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mci Panie Wdo Kijowski, nasz Wielce Mci Panie i Dobrodzieju!

Lubo nie według naznaczonego terminu od nas do W.M.M.Pana J.M.Pan Nahorecki[1] powraca, jednak cum finali nostra declaratione, którą posterunkom naszym totaliter zleciliśmy, upraszając W.M.M., abyś W.N.M.Pan i Dobrodziej zawziętej prace swojej, jakoś począł dla wiary ś. i krwie chrześcijańskiej pracować, ustawać nie raczył, ale żebyś powagą swą senatorską włożył się w to i był przyczyną do J.K.M. Pana N. Miłościwego i wszytkiej Rzeczypospolitej, aby dalszego krwie rozlania poniechawszy nas do miłościwej łaski swej przyjąć raczyli. My już z strony naszej szczerze się skłaniamy, tylko prosiemy, abyś W.M.M.Pan* rzecz do efektu jako najprędzej przywodził, abyśmy pokoju pożądanego doczekawszy zobopólnie Pana Najwyższego chwalili, którego majestatowi ś. wszytko i rozsądkowi W.M.M.Pana poleciwszy, łasce W.M.M.P. samych siebie jako najpilniej oddajemy.

Dan z taboru[2] 7 septembris anno 1651.

W.M.N.Pana i Dobrodzieja życzliwi i najniżsi słudzy

Bohdan Chmielnicki z Wojskiem J.K.M. Zaporow.

[1] See doc. 8, fn. 3.
* *repetition follows*: "już z strony naszej szczerze się skłaniamy, tylko prosiemy, abyś W.M.M.Pan."
[2] The Cossack camp near Bila Cerkva.

Document 10

Čyhyryn, 14 December 1651 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj discusses the rebellion in the Bila Cerkva regiment, which resulted in the murder of Colonel Myxajlo Hromyka, and the disturbances in the Korsun' regiment. He reports the completion of registers in accordance with the Agreement of Bila Cerkva for all except the two rebellious regiments. He justifies his contacts with the Tatars. He mentions that he has informed Marcin Kalinowski, Crown field hetman and palatine of Černihiv, about the disturbances. Xmel'nyc'kyj asks whether he is required to complete the register by the "Roman" or by the "Ruthenian" Christmas (January 4 n.s.).

Copy, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, A.R. VI, ms. 36.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mści Panie Wojewodo Kijowski, mój Wielce Mści Panie i Bracie!

Jako mię skoro wiadomość o buntach korsuńskich[1] i o zabiciu nieboszczyka pułkownika białocerkiewskiego[2] doszła, zaraz tejże godziny Demka,[3] asawułę naszego tam z kilkądziesiąt człowieka posłaliśmy rozkazawszy mu, aby tych pryncypałów, którzy są przyczyną śmierci nieboszczykowskiej, i tych buntowników wynalazłszy, wszystkich sam do mnie przywozili. Których co dzień z Korsunia wyglądam, o czym fusius ja do W.M.M.Pana przez przeszłe świeże pisanie moje pisałem. Gdy tedy tych przyprowadzą, bez odwłoki cruento mortis exemplo onym zganiwszy zaraz potym i W.M.M.Pana owiadomię. A W.M.M.Pan, trzymając cale o poprzysiężonym wiernym poddaństwie moim przeciwko J.K.M., Panu Memu Miłościwemu i wszystkiej Rzptej, namniej nie racz się turbować, ale na Boga mego poprzysięgam, że z strony naszej nic się nie będzie działo złego i szkodliwego poprzysiężonym punktom, lubo by mi i drugi raz in praesentia W.M.M.Pana na nienaruszenia pokoju i wierność poddaństwa mego poprzysiąc.

Rewizja tu już we wszystkich pułkach skończyła się tutejszych i zadnieprskich krom tylko korsuńskiego i białocerkiewskiego, którym przeszkodziła śmierć nieboszczyka Hromyki. Rozumiem jednak, że białocerkiewski wprędce się skończy, który zaraz po śmierci pułkowniczej ordynować kazaliśmy. Chyba korsuński nieco zabawi, bo skazawszy tych zdrajców inaczej ordynować się ten pułk ich będzie. Skoro tedy i te dwa sporządzą się, nie omieszkam komput in purum przepisawszy do akt grodu W.M.M.M.Pana przesłać.

Oznajmiłem też i o tym w przeszłym pisaniu moim do W.M.M.M.Pana dyrygowanym, że nie na żadny posiłek Tatarom za Mirgrodem[4] i dalej kilkaset człowieka jest, ale dlategośmy im tam iść kazali, że Kołmycy nie zaczepając Ordy i one

pominąwszy tu, w granice Jego Kr. Mści aże ku Samarze[5] podpadać poczęli byli i względem tego a czyniąc dosyć officio meo tam do nich tych ludzi obróciłem był. Uchowaj Boże, abym ja bez woli J.K.Mści Pana mego Miłościwego miał te siły gdzie obracać.

Wyprawiłem teraz do Jego Mści Pana Hetmana Polnego Koronnego[6] przy bytności J.Mści Pana Wojniłowicza[7] i J.Mści Pana Machowskiego[8] oznajmując o śmierci pułkownika białocerkiewskiego, żeby to jakiego motum nie uczyniło i żeby wojska się nie trwożyły. A PP. Posłów dlategom zatrzymał, abym tych skazał in praesentia onych.

Z strony stanowisk wojsk J.K.M. koronnych proszę, racz mi W.M.M. Pan expresse oznajomić: wszak według punktów tylko w samym województwie czernihowskim zawierać się mają i w bracławskim czyli też aliud, W.M.M.M.Pan sentis?

Z Zadnieprza nie mam nic nowego. Gdyby co było, dniem i nocą nie omieszkam W.M.M.Panu dać znać i we wszystkim się znosić.

Zwykłe przy tym usługi moje w łaskę W.M.M.M.Pana pilno polecam. Z Czyhiryna[9] die 14 decembris 1651.

W.M.M.Pana cale życzliwy brat i sługa Bohdan Chmielnicki,
Hetman z Wojskiem J.K.Mści Zaporoskim

O te kozaki nic W.M.M.M.Pan nie suspicjuj. Wiesz W.M.M.M.Pan sam, jakośmy postanowili między sobą, gdyż kożda rzecz do zniesienia się z W.M.M. Panem.

[*Added on a separate sheet*]

Co zaś W.M.M.M.Pan inserować w liście swym raczysz, że do rzymskiego Bożego Narodzenia regestr Wojska J.K.Mści Zaporoskiego zawrzeć się ma, tedy my inaczej mniemaliśmy i mniemamy. Jakoż tak jest, bo non est positum expresse in punctis, o jakim, czy o ruskim, czy o rzymskim ma się skończyć regestr? Jakożkolwiek, to nullam potest inferre W.M.M.Panu suspicionem. Licet non cito, saltem bene. Jakoż nadzieja w Bogu Wszechmogącym, że za pomocą Jego świętą dobry koniec będzie.

1 Korsun' is a raion center in the Čerkasy oblast. *Čerkas'ka oblast',* pp. 382–97.
2 Myxajlo Hromyka (d. 1651), colonel of Bila Cerkva. For his career, see the entry in *Polski słownik biograficzny,* 10: 53.
3 Damjan Myxajlovyč Demko, called Lysovec' (d. 1654), was *heneral'nyj osaul* and *nakaznyj* hetman from 1649 to 1654. See the entry about him by Myron Korduba in *Polski słownik biograficzny,* 5: 105.
4 Myrhorod, a raion center in the Poltava oblast. See *Poltavs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1967), pp. 628–54.
5 The Samara River, a Left-Bank tributary of the Dnieper.
6 Marcin Kalinowski; see doc. 7, fn. 1.
7 Gabriel Wojniłowicz, colonel in the Crown Army, was stationed in the palatinate of Černihiv after the Agreement of Bila Cerkva. For Xmel'nyc'kyj's complaints about Wojniłowicz's actions, see Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 9, pt. 1: 560. For Wojniłowicz's later career in the Ukraine, see Adam Kersten, *Stefan Czarniecki, 1599–*

1665 (Warsaw, 1963), pp. 129, 132, 133, 163, 262, 283, 320, 324, 326, 357–360, 393, 424, 480.

[8] Sebastian Machowski (d. 1672?), officer (*rotmistrz* and *pułkownik*) in the Crown Army and executioner of Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyj. See the entry by Wiesław Majewski in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 18: 637–39.

[9] Čyhyryn; see doc. 4, fn. 3.

Document 11

Čyhyryn, 30 December 1651 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Xmel'nyc'kyj expresses concern that his letters have not reached Kysil'. He mentions his attempts to contact Field Hetman Marcin Kalinowski and justifies his contacts with the Tatars. He reports continuing difficulty in compiling Cossack registers for the Bila Cerkva and Korsun' regiments. He mentions his sentencing of Colonel Mozyrja of Korsun' for rebellion. He lists those areas that Polish troops may enter and where Polish administration may be restored. He affirms that he will send emissaries to the next diet.

Copy, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, A.R. VI, ms. 36.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mści Panie Wojewoda Kijowski, mój Wielce Mści Panie i Bracie!

Dziwno mi to barzo, iż listy moje, którem [*sic*] zawsze przez posłańców W.M.Mego M.Pana posyłam i na kożdy list daję respons W.M.M.M.Panu, nie dochodzą. Tak tydzień przez posłańca W.M.M.M.Pana przy liście moim list do Jego Mści Pana Mego Mściwego posłałem, który aby W.M.M.M.Pan jako najprędzej raczył przesłać, wielce proszę. Lubom ja posłańca mego, Pana Tetorę[1] do Jego Mści Pana Hetmana Polnego[2] wyprawił, zaraz o tym do W.M.M.M.Pana dałem znać. Tylko nie wiem, czemu list W.M.M.M.Pana nie doszedł, w którym wypisałem był wszelkiej tam materiej [i] posłałem był. Czy posłańcy niepewni, czyli też gdzie się podziewają z tymi listami?

A ponieważ już o tym wszytkiem W.M.M.M.Pan dowiedzieć się raczył od Jego Mści Pana Hetmana M.Mściego Pana, tego już reputować [= repetować] W.M.M.M.Panu nie trzeba, ale raczej te słowa w liście wyrażone W.M.M.M.Panu repetuję wzajem: Jeźli ja o zdradzie jakiej Jego K.M. przeciwko Majestatowi Pana Mego Miłościwego myślę i jeźli świętego pokoju w ojczyźnie i za onę które [= krwie?] własnej rozlewu nie życzę i nie jestem gotów, niechaj mię niebo przetłucze albo przeleje, albo ziemia nie nosi! Kto by niesprawiedliwie [missing "mówił"?], tylko bym życzył szczerze, żeby taka wszytkich Ich Mściów jako W.M.M.M.Pana i moja jest intencja.

Co się tknie tego przyjmowania posłów tatarskich, tedy żadnego takiego nie było, Bogiem świadczę. Który by w poważnej miał przychodzić sprawie? Krom tylko że jeden niedawno jakoby w poważnej przyszedł materii. O tym zarazem do Jego Mści Pana Hetmana dał znać. Ale bo to do kilku ich było? Ja jednak nic poważnego z nimi nie traktowałem, tylko, jako ja i przedtym z W.M.M.M.Panem

mówił, że nie zaraz im wypowiedzieć służbę, ale powoli, żeby teraz, jako i W.M.M.Pan wiesz, jakie nie powstali burdy i żeby z niemi nie chcieli wszczynać konspiracjej, która i mnie by musiała [missing "zaczepić"?]. Zaczym i W.M.M. Panu dziwuję się, jakoby W.M.M.M.Pan wątpić o mnie i ku ojczyźnie poprzysiężonej życzliwości o tym pański stymulować nie raz [?] raczysz. Jednakże jeśliby jakiekolwiek byli napotym posły, zatrzymawszy, do W.M.M.M.Pana jako komisarza, także i do Jego Mści Pana Hetmana dla aktykowania będę dawał znać i na rezolucją oczekawać.

I regestr rad bym dawno W.M.M.Panu dla aktykowania do grodu odesłał, tylko tylko [*sic*] że korsuński[3] i białocerkiewski[4] pułk nie sporządził się za tą zawieruchą. Aza się już sporządzili. Skoro tedy wszytek komput zordynuje się, jakoż rozumiem, że przed Bożym Narodzeniem to efekt swój weźmie, zaraz go odeślę do W.M.M.M.Pana.

Rozumiem, że raczył W.M.M.M.Pan znać Mozyrę,[5] pułkownika byńskiego [= byłego korsuńskiego], którego ojciec przedtym i hetmanem Wojska Jego [*sic*] J.K.M. Zaporoskim bywał. Tedy ja, przestrzegając poprzysiężonego pokoju i onego życząc, przy bytności Ich Mś Panów Posłów od Jego Mści Pana Hetmana śmiercią kazałem go dnia wczorajszego skarać, gdyż dowodnie się pokazało, że on buntów tych korsuńskich i śmierci nieboszczyka, acz nie sam, ale pono jego konspiraty i drudzy, przyczyną. Zaczym i po inszych posłałem, którzy też odniosą zapłatę, by pokój święty był zgruntowany.

O stanowiskach traktowaliśmy tu z Jego Mścią Panem Wojniłowiczem[6] i Jego Mścią Panem Machowskim[7] i o tym pisaliśmy do Jego Mści Pana Hetmana. Zaczym według punktów tym Ich Mściom Panom Żołnierzom wolno po Bożym Narodzeniu naszym ruskim stać w województwie czernihowskim, Riiewskiego [= Kijowskiego] nie ciemiężąc i miast ukrain[n]ych, jako to Rumna[8] [= Romna], Pultazy[9] [= Pułtawy], Mirgrodu[10] i inszych. Także gdy Ich Mśi na stanowiska iść będą, nie trzeba Kijowa i miast zaczepać, w których kozacy zawierać się będą, ale tamtym traktem od Lubecza[11] i Kijowa [iść]. Zaczym uniwersały moje, to opowiadając, do W.M.M.M.Pana przed Bożym Narodzeniem przyślę.

Jego Mści Panu Chorążemu[12] starostw swych i majętności dziedziczny [= dziedziczyć] wolno i urzędy przysyłać, byleby Czyhyrynowi, jako starostwo in suo circulo jest, dało [= dał] pokój, jako prawo starożytne świadczy tej mojej daninie.[13] A ponieważ z strony tego o komisji W.M.M.M.Pan przypominać raczył, barzo rad przez posłów swych o to prosić Jego K.M. na Sejmie będę.

Łasce się W.M.M.M.Pana polecam.

Z Czyhyryna[14] 30 decembris anno 1651.

W.M.M.M.Pana życzliwy brat i sługa Bohdan Chmielnicki,
Hetman z Wojskiem J.K.M. Zaporowskiem.

1 The name is written indistinctly and the reading is questionable. It may be a form of "Teterja" and could refer to Pavlo Teterja, hetman from 1663 to 1665, who at this time was *pysar* or chancellor of the Perejaslav regiment. For additional information on Teterja, see Wacław Lipiński [Lypyns'kyj], "Stanisław Michał Krzyczewski: Z dziejów

walki szlachty ukraińskiej w szeregach powstańczych pod wodzą Bohdana Chmielnickiego (r. 1648–1649)," in Wacław Lipiński, ed., *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1912), pp. 308–310.

2 Crown Field Hetman Marcin Kalinowski; see doc. 7, fn. 1.

3 Korsun'; see doc. 10, fn. 1.

4 Bila Cerkva; see doc. 8, fn. 5.

5 For data about Lukijan (Lukaš) Mozyrja (Mazyrenko, Mozurja), colonel of the Korsun' regiment from 1649 to 1651, see George Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 2 pts. (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pt. 2, p. 616. The Zaporozhian hetmans before Xmel'nyc'kyj and their chronology have not yet been established. Xmel'nyc'kyj's mention of Mozyrja's father as a hetman warrants further investigation.

6 See doc. 10, fn. 7.

7 See doc. 10, fn. 8.

8 Romny, a raion center in the Sumy oblast. *Sums'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 483–89.

9 The city of Poltava. *Poltavs'ka oblast'*, pp. 68–117.

10 Myrhorod; see doc. 10, fn. 4.

11 Ljubeč, a town in the Černihiv oblast. *Černihiv'ska oblast'*, pp. 572–84.

12 Aleksander Koniecpolski; see doc. 4, fn. 4.

13 See doc. 4 for a discussion of the struggle for the office of *starostwo* of Čyhyryn.

14 Čyhyryn; see doc. 4, fn. 3.

Document 12

Čyhyryn, 9 January 1652 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. After extending holiday felicitations, Xmel'nyc'kyj assures Kysil' that the register which has been held up due to the revolts among the Cossacks will soon be ready. He asserts that the Cossacks have not provided and will not provide reinforcements to foreigners (meaning Tatars). He proposes that the Crown troops take up their positions in the Černihiv and Nižyn areas without confronting the Cossacks, and he insists that they not be stationed in the Left-Bank lands of the palatinate of Kiev. Recognizing that all registered Cossacks have not yet been able to leave the Černihiv and Nižyn areas, Xmel'nyc'kyj states that he has commanded them not to give the slightest cause for confrontation and he requests that Kysil' restrain the Crown troops from doing so. Xmel'nyc'kyj asserts that he will soon send delegates to the diet (scheduled to convene on January 26) and that he is attempting to establish good relations with the Crown's authorities — Aleksander Koniecpolski, the Crown standard bearer, and Piotr Potocki, starosta *of Kamjanec'. He asks that his letter to the king be forwarded as soon as possible. Having requested that the Crown Army not occupy Ržyščiv and having promised to send delegates to the diet, he urges Kysil' to remain in Kiev. (Kysil''s threats to leave the Dnieper area were a response to the tumultuous situation and to Xmel'nyc'kyj's tardiness in complying with the provisions of the Bila Cerkva agreement.)*

Copy, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, A.R. VI, ms. 36.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mśc Panie Wojewodo Kijowski, mnie Wielce Mśc Panie i Bracie!

Wzajem powinszowawszy W.M.M.M.Panu świąt chwalebnych i uroczystej radości Zbawiciela świata, życzę, aby Pan pokoju pokój, wojski anielskiemi na

ziemi obwołany, i w naszej ziemi trwały i więcej nietargały zachować raczył. Do czego i my będąc ochotni i z łaski J.K.M. wielce wdzięczni, Panu Naszemu Młciwemu wiernie służąc i Rzptej szczerze przyjając, wedle wszytkiej informacjej W.M.M.M.P. postępujemy.

Regestr wojskowy poślemy do W.M.M.M.Pana do grodu, skoro sporządzimy. Tarditas teraz, która pierwiej nie była, gdyśmy regestrowali wojsko, ex tumultibus urosła, ale i z tym nie omieszkamy.

Postronnym posiłków nie daliśmy i nie dajemy, jakośmy W.M.M.M.Panu oznajmili.

Wojsko za Dniepr racz W.M.M.M.Pan śrzodkami mądremi dyrygować, aby szło bez zaczepek w Czernihowczyznę i Niżyńczyznę wedle punktów poprzysiężonych. A co się nie postanowiło w punktach, żeby w Kijowczyźnie za Dnieprem stało, to W.M.M.M.Pan racz i sam uważać, że być nie powinno. Prosimy też wielce W.M.M.M.Pana, aby towarzystwo nasze regestrowe, które nie mogło się z Czernihowczyzny i Niżynczyzny tak prędko wyprowadzić, cokolwiek mogło przemieszkać. A my zakażemy i zakazaliśmy, żeby najmniejszej okazjej do wzruszenia nie dawali. I nie dadzą, tylko W.M.M.M.Pan racz w to potrafiać, aby krzywdy nie mieli od Wojska J.K.M. Koronnego, bo co czasem wyrostek albo czura uczyni, o tym i starsi nie wiedzą, a z małej iskierki wielki ogień bywa.

Po wtóre, o to wielce proszę W.M.M.M.Pana: My bunty uskromiliśmy korsuńskie i zadnieprskie uskromić staramy się słusznemi śrzodkami wedle informacjej W.M.M.M.Pana. Posły na Sejm słać nie omieszkamy, tylkoż teraz nie rychłośmy od W.M.M.M.Pana wzięli wiadomość. A jakośmy wedle perswazjej W.M.M.M.Pana i J.M.P. Chorążemu Koronnemu[1] ochotnie spełnić starali się, tak i Wielmożnemu J.M.P. Staroście Kamienieckiemu[2] afektem we wszytkim dosyć czynić gotowiśmy dla Jaśnie Wielmożnego ś.p. J.M.P. Krakowskiego,[3] dobrodzieja naszego. Podstarościm J.Mści żadnej nie będzie krzywdy. Przy tym wielce prosimy, abyś W.M.M.M.Pan list do J.K.M. co prędzej raczył dyrygować od nas i naszą wierność J.K.M. komendować, że gotowiśmy usługami i odwagą zdrowia clementiae J.K.M. zasługować. Także gdy Wojsko J.K.M. Koronne za Dniepr pójdzie na Rżyszczów,[4] aby nie zajmowało, prosimy. Tudzież i posłów naszych na Sejm wedle szczerej przyjaźni racz W.M.M.M.Pan życzliwie promowować.

A co W.M.M.M.Pan raczysz pisać, że z Kijowa ustępować myślić raczysz, to nam dziwno, chybaby za Dniepr, ale gdzie indziej nie rozumiemy, aby W.M.M.M. Pan chciał odjeżdżać, bo by to było nam niepocieszno. Gdyż po łasce Bożej żadnej nie masz okazjej do tego, raczej z pracy swej W.M.M.M.Pan i ja nie ucieszymy się i P.Boga pochwalimy? Bo pragnę o wszytkim z W.M.M.M.Panem znieść się i rozmówić i postanowić.

A zatem łasce W.M.M.M.Pana jako najpilniej powolność moją zalecam.

A Czehiryna[5] 9 januarii 1652.

W.M.M.M.P. we wszem życzliwy i powolny sługa

Bohdan Chmielnicki, Hetman z Wojskiem J.K.M. Zaporoskim.

[1] Aleksander Koniecpolski; see doc. 4, fn. 4.
[2] Piotr Potocki. For additional information see Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, 7:453–54.
[3] The deceased Mikołaj Potocki; see doc. 5, fn. 1. Xmel'nyc'kyj may also be affirming his willingness to grant Potocki's heirs the right to his properties, since in the next sentence he asserts that Potocki's estate stewards (*podstarości*) will not be harmed in any way.
[4] Ržyščiv, in the Kaharlyk raion of the Kiev oblast. *Kyjivs'ka oblast'*, pp. 330–38.
[5] Čyhyryn; see doc. 4, fn. 3.

Document 13

Čyhyryn, 10 January 1652 n.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to King Jan Kazimierz. Xmel'nyc'kyj assures Jan Kazimierz that he is carrying out his obligations according to the Agreement of Bila Cerkva. He states that he has punished the Cossack rebels and has compiled the register. He reports that he is cooperating with the appointed representatives of the Commonwealth (Adam Kysil' and Marcin Kalinowski), and formally thanks the king for having appointed Kalinowski as Mikołaj Potocki's successor in supervising compliance with the peace terms. His expression of hope that Kalinowski will not break the peace is actually an expression of concern that the more militant Kalinowski will not pursue a moderate policy toward the Cossacks. Xmel'nyc'kyj justifies the tardiness of the Cossack envoys in reaching the diet by explaining that the Cossacks were not informed in time to be prompt.

Copy, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, A.R. VI, ms. 36.

Najaśniejszy Młciwy Królu Panie, Panie nasz Wielce Młciwy!

Wierność poddaństwa naszego tak staramy się zachować, jakoby ni w czym Najaśniejszy Majestat W.K.M. P.N. Młciwego nie był urażon. Buntowników karząc a regestra wypisu wojskowego sporządzając, sedulo posłów wyprawiwszy, dalsze petita swe do Majestatu W.K.M. P.N. Młciwego wniesiemy i prosimy, aby W.K.M. Pan Nasz Młciwy klemencją nam, sługom i poddanym swoim okazywać raczył.

A my, znosząc się z Jaśnie Wielmożnymi Ich Mciami Panem Wojewodą Kijowskim[1] i Panem Wojewodą Czernihowskim[2] jako komisarzami na to ordynowanemi, będziemy postrzegać, żeby pokój święty w najmniejszej rzeczy nie był naruszony, żeby już postronne państwa nie cieszyły się. A że W.K.M. P.Nasz Młciwy na miejscu świętej pamięci Jaśnie Wielmożnego J.M.P. Krakowskiego[3] raczył polecić dozór pokoju świętego Jaśnie Wielmożnemu J.M.P. Wojewodzie Czernihowskiemu, wielce W.K.M. P.N.Młciwemu podziękowawszy, z naszej też strony postrzegać będziemy, jakoby żadna do naruszenia pokoju nie dała się occasio.

Posłowie nasi że [na] początek Sejmu nie pośpieszą, a to z tej racjej musi być, żeśmy się nie prędko o złożeniu Sejmu dowiedzieli. Lecz nie omieszkamy z wiernym poddaństwem i z sporządzonym regestrem onych do W.K.M. P.N.Młciwego wyprawić.

Przy tym upadając do nóg Majestatu W.K.M. P.N.Młciwego, jako najpilniej miłościwej się łasce oddajemy.

Z Czehiryna[4] 10 januarii 1652.

Waszej K.M. P.N.Młciwego najniżsi słudzy i wierni poddani
Bohdan Chmielnicki, Hetman z Wojskiem W.K.M. Zaporoskim.

[1] Adam Kysil'.
[2] Marcin Kalinowski.
[3] Mikołaj Potocki.
[4] Čyhyryn.

Document 14

Čyhyryn, 30 August 1652 o.s.

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Adam Kysil', palatine of Kiev. Writing after the Cossacks destroyed the Crown Army at Batih (June 2), Xmel'nyc'kyj responds guardedly to the Commonwealth's overtures to open new negotiations. The diet (meeting from July 23 to August 17) had commissioned Colonel (Pułkownik) *Mikołaj Zaćwilichowski,* wojski *of Vinnycja, and Zygmunt Czerny,* podstarosta *of Bila Cerkva, to bring its proposals for reinstating the Agreement of Bila Cerkva to Xmel'nyc'kyj. Xmel'nyc'kyj feigns interest in the negotiations and proposes Perejaslav as a meeting place, but he indicates that whereas before he attempted to fulfill the agreement, he is now interested in a just peace, which would seem to entail a renegotiation of terms. He justifies his inattention to the Commonwealth's overtures by saying he is preoccupied with arrangements for the marriage of his son Tymiš to Rozanda, the daughter of Basil Lupu,* hospodar *of Moldavia.*

Copy, Archiwum Państwowe Miasta Krakowa i Województwa Krakowskiego, Archiwum Sanguszków, ms. 67, p. 277.

Jaśnie Wielmożny Mści Panie Wojewodo Kijowski,[1] mój Mści Panie i Dobrodzieju!

Jakoś z dawna W.M.M.M.Pan zwykł wszelką życzliwością przeciwko nas i Wojsku Zaporoskiemu być, której i teraz doznawamy przez pisanie W.M.M.M.P., o co wielce upraszam W.M.M.M.P.? Żebyśmy przy onej życzliwości i do końca od W.M. zostawali, za takową łaską, którą W.M.M.M.Pan, nie żałując prace swej, do J.K.M. Pana Naszego Wielce Młściwego łaskawie wymawiać w tej niewinnej obeldze mojej raczył, w której samego Boga na świadectwo przyzywam, że się to stało nie przez nas. Sam W.M.M.M.Pan możesz temu świadkiem być, że bym już nie życzył więcej krwie rozlania i przy pokoju rad bym zostawał.

Co z strony naznaczenia komisjej W.M.M.M.Pan pisać do mnie raczył, gdzie by ona stanąć miała, nie znalazłem sposobniejszego miejsca jako w Perejasławiu.[2] Tylko w to potrafiać racz W.M.M.M.Pan, żeby nie z wojski wielkimi ta komisja odprawować się miała, tak jako pierwiej z W.M.M.M.P. i z inszemi Ich Mściami.[3]

Na wszystkiem, o co K.J.M. i wszystka Rpta potrzebowali, stanęło było. Życzyłem sobie tego, abym do końca przy tym postanowieniu białocerkiewskim i

przy słusznym pokoju zostawali, i teraz życzę sobie tego, aby pokój słuszny (otrzymawszy łaskę J.K.M.) przez W.M.M.M.P. stanął.

Proszę, nie racz W.M.M.M.P. na mnie się obrażać, żem oddalił komisją tę za tydzień po świętej Pokrowie.[4] Sam W.M.M.M.P. temu dobrze świadom, że teraźniejszego czasu trudności moje za weselem syna mego mam.[5]

O co i po wtóre uniżenie prosimy W.M.M.M.P., abyś W.M. powagą swoją pańską według miłościwej obietnice swojej do pozyskania łaski J.K.M. Pana Naszego Młściwego za nami, najniższymi podnóżkami do Majestatu J.K.Mści włożyć się raczył, do którego z najniższemi usługami swemi w łaskę miłościwą jako najpilniej [się] oddawam.

Z Czehiryna[6] die 30 augusti według starego kalendarza anno 1652.

W.M.M.M.Pana i Dobrodzieja uniżony sługa i brat

Bohdan Chmielnicki, Hetman Wojska Jego Kr. Mści Zaporoskiego.

1 Adam Kysil'.
2 Perejaslav-Xmel'nyc'kyj is a raion center in the Kiev oblast. *Kyjivs'ka oblast'*, pp. 496–515.
3 Kysil''s first, unsuccessful mission to Xmel'nyc'kyj in July and August 1648 resulted in clashes between the mission's retinue and the Cossacks.
4 October 1 o.s.; October 11 n.s.
5 Tymiš (d. 1653) married Rozanda (d. 1686) on 30 August 1652 n.s. Basil Lupu ruled Moldavia from 1634 to 1654.
6 Čyhyryn.

Document 15

Čyhyryn, 24 June 1657, o.s.

Universal issued by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj confirming a property transaction by Myxajlo Gunaševs'kyj (Hunaševs'kyj), archpriest of Kiev. Kryp"jakevyč and Butyč republished this universal (no. 460, pp. 599–600) from a nineteenth-century publication, noting that they could not locate the original. A comparison of their republication with the original reveals that the nineteenth-century edition is flawed and that the grant was made not to a "Myxajlo Huntarevs'kyj," but to Myxajlo Gunaševs'kyj, a noted Cossack and clerical leader of the mid-seventeenth century.[1] Gunaševs'kyj is often assumed to be the author of the L'viv Chronicle. Here Xmel'nyc'kyj confirms his purchase of a property settlement at Olizarivka from Pavlo Janovyč, colonel of the Kiev regiment, and Ivan, barber-surgeon of the Kiev regiment. He also levies a fine of 500 złoty on anyone who interferes with Gunaševs'kyj's right of possession.

Original, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 6147, IV, vol. 2, no. 56, fols. 27–28.

(a photograph of this document appears on p. 524)

Богданъ Хмелницкий, Гетманъ ꙁ Войском Єго Царского Величества Ꙁапороским

Всѣмъ вобец и кождомȣ ꙁособна, ѡсобливе Паном Полковником Сȣдꙗм, Сотником Асавȣлом, Атаманом, Ꙁалогам и всемȣ рыцерствȣ воиска Єго Царского Величества Ꙁапороꙁкого, также воитови и всемȣ маестратови Киевъскомȣ тепер и напотом бȣдȣчомȣ до вѣдомости доносимъ, иже велебныи в Богȣ ѡтец Михаило Кгȣнашевъский[1] Протопопа Киевъский покладал перед нами ꙁаписовъ два: ѡдин ѡд Пана Павла Ивановича Хмелницкого[2] Полковника Киевъского Собѣ, малжонце и потомком своим на вѣчнȣю проданȣ плꙗцȣ и двора ꙁо въсимъ бȣдынком наꙁваного ѡлиꙁаровъского,[3] ꙁа певнȣю и готовȣю сȣмȣ грошеи, в ꙁаписе менованȣю до скарбȣ нашого воискового ѡдданȣю; дрȣгии ѡд Ивана[4] цырȣлика полкового Киевъского ꙁа ꙁаплачене при бȣдынкȣ в том же дворе под час мешканꙗ ꙁа вѣдомостъю полковниковою менованого цырȣлика причиненого и ѡправене ѡного ѡ чом тые ѡбадва ꙁаписы ширеи в собѣ мают и просил нас превелебныи ѡтецъ Протопопа Киевъскии абысмо тые его ꙁаписы ѡгледивъши, потвердили, при дворе и всем бȣдынкȣ старом и ново причиненом ꙁаховали ꙗкож мы видечи быт проꙁбȣ его слȣшнȣю и ꙁнаючи ꙁычливȣю хȣт ꙁдавна кȣ нам и всемȣ Воискȣ Ꙁапороꙁкомȣ и непрестанное Бога благане, потененые ꙁаписы и вси кондыцые в них вырꙁне ѡписаные повагаю Нашею Гетманскою апъпробȣемъ ствержаем и ȣмоцнꙗем при домȣ помененом ѡлиꙁаровъском его самого, малжонкȣ и потомковъ его вѣчне ꙁаховȣемъ и продатъ комȣ бы хотѣвъ поꙁволꙗем ȣрꙗд вшелꙗкии коꙁацкии и мѣскии Киевъскии ȣпоминаем и сȣрово приказȣем, абы жадное и наименшое кривъды и перешкоды в помененомъ дворе емȣ и ѡд него держаномъ чинит не важили под срокгимъ ꙁа наименшою скаргою каранемъ и виною до скарбȣ нашого воискового пети сотъ ꙁолотых А длꙗ лѣпшое твердости тȣю апровацыю ꙁаписовъ рȣкою нашею подписавши печат воисковȣю приложит роꙁкаꙁалисмо дѣꙗлосе в Чигиринѣ днꙗ к҃д мѣсꙗца Июнꙗ рокȣ ҂ах҃нз

Богданъ Хмелницкии
Рȣка власна.

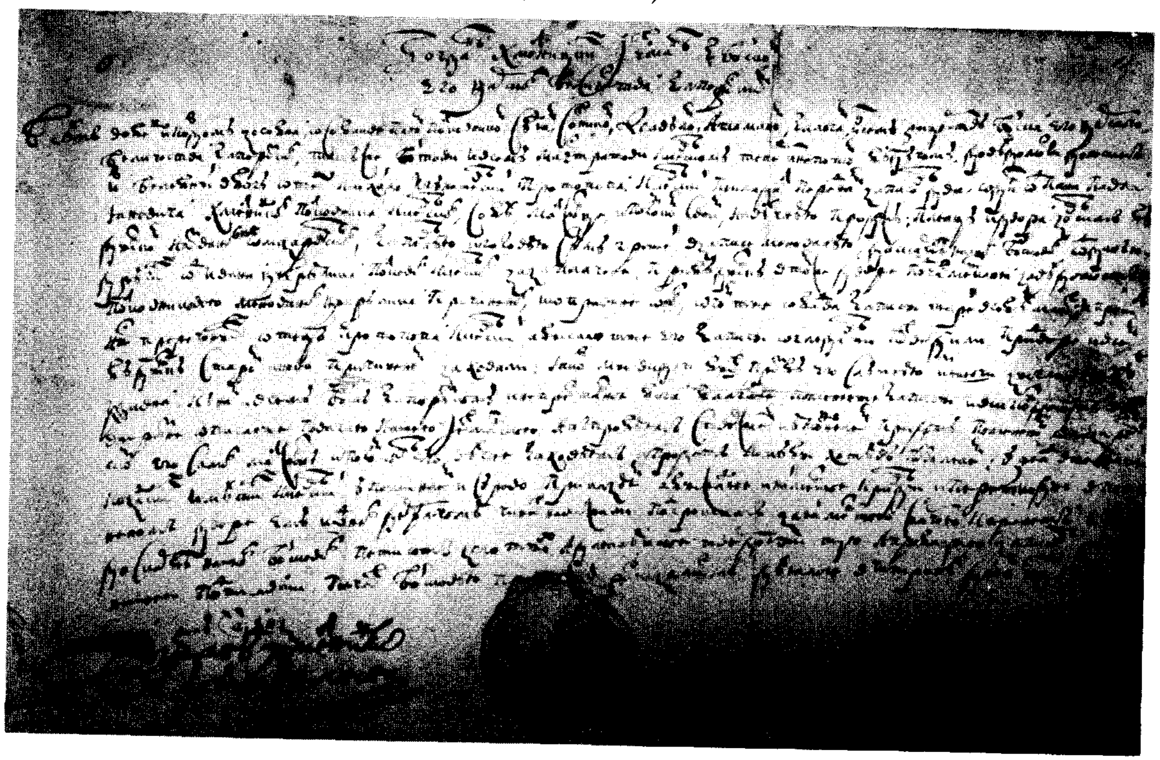
[1] For literature on Gunaševs'kyj's career, see my review of O. A. Bezvo, ed., *L'vivs'kyj litopys i Ostroz'kyj litopysec': Džereloznavče doslidžennja* (Kiev, 1970), in *Recenzija* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1973): 27-45.

[2] On Pavlo Ivanovyč Xmel'nyc'kyj (died after 1678), see the entry by Myron Korduba in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 3: 337.

[3] Olizarivka is a settlement near the village of Žmijivka in the Ivankiv raion of the Kiev oblast. *Kyjivs'ka oblast'*, p. 313.

[4] I have not been able to establish the surname of Ivan, barber-surgeon of the Kiev regiment.

Universal issued by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj confirming a property transaction by Myxajlo Gunaševs'kyj (Hunaševs'kyj)
(Document 15)



REVIEW ARTICLES

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION, 1917–1921

ANDREW P. LAMIS

THE UKRAINE, 1917–1921: A STUDY IN REVOLUTION. Edited by *Taras Hunczak*. Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Monograph Series. Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by the Harvard University Press, 1977. x, 424 pp., 1 map. $15.00 (clothbound).

This collection of articles, edited by Taras Hunczak and distributed by the Harvard University Press, concerns the period in Ukrainian history when a powerful movement for modern national self-realization first manifested itself. The volume, which deals primarily with the Eastern Ukraine, contains fourteen scholarly contributions spanning a wide range of topics, including Hrushevs'kyi's Central Rada, Pavlo Skoropads'kyi's Hetmanate, the Ukrainian National Republic's Directory, the Fourth Universal, the political parties of the Ukraine, Nestor Makhno's anarchism, and the allied intervention in the Ukraine during the years 1917–1920. The selections are all noteworthy for their quality and pertinence. A review of the specific contents of each article will gain us little, because the selections speak well for themselves. It behooves me, instead, to speak generally about the Ukrainian national movement and to consider how accurately the essays included in Hunczak's volume depict this historical phenomenon.

In reading the volume, one is struck by the rich variety of historical interpretations that have been applied to the Ukrainian Revolution. The rise of Ukrainian nationalism was a remarkably complex movement, whose emergence cannot be easily deduced and whose nature cannot be simply characterized. One of the few definitive statements that can be made about the movement is that it failed to establish an independent state. However, the underlying causes of this failure elude definitive explanation. The various authors in Hunczak's volume stress the tumultuous times that shrouded the birth of the Ukrainian national movement. In the years 1917–1921, a rush of events swept over the Ukraine, making the consolidation of a state very difficult. During this time of repeated foreign interventions

and internal political divisiveness, only an ineffectual attempt could be made to transform a country of widely dispersed, economically and partly ethnically heterogeneous people into a single independent state. As Richard Pipes writes, "events moved too swiftly" for the national movement in the Ukraine (p. 2).

A second point that is strongly emphasized in Hunczak's collection is the difficulty of enlisting the peasant masses in the nationalist cause. Although the peasants were an extremely powerful force, their revolutionary uprisings were episodic and transitory. The "intelligentsia" was unable to harness the explosive force of the peasantry. With the third estate (bourgeoisie) absent, the intelligentsia, acting illegally and without experience in implementing civil and political rights, was unable to direct the mostly illiterate peasantry or to articulate their aspirations in a unifying way. The peasants, therefore, remained a confused mass, spontaneously rising up only to return to quiescence. This seems to be the consensus of opinion among the scholars represented in Hunczak's book.

On the surface, this account is accurate. But it yields the impression that there was a yawning divide between the peasants and the intelligentsia. Although their cooperative merger was indispensable for a successful national awakening, they remained separate, seemingly driven by different interests and influenced by different forces. The contributors to Hunczak's book stress the halting steps of the Ukrainian Revolution, a revolution which sporadically leaped forward when the populace was roused and then sank back into a quagmire of inaction when intellectual leaders, owing both to their own factitiousness and to the provincialism of the peasantry, failed to maintain its momentum. Ukrainian nationalism emerged at a time when all the essential components for national self-realization were present; yet they remained separate, never fashioned together into an effective whole. This disparateness continued as a wave of unpredictable events complicated and ultimately thwarted efforts to create national union.

I wish to analyze the accuracy of the position which holds that the division between the peasants and the intelligentsia was the chief obstacle to the Ukrainian national movement. I hope to show that the abyss separating these two factions was neither wide nor deep. In fact, the peasants and the intelligentsia were driven by the same ideological motivations. Scholars may contest whether it is appropriate to ascribe "ideology" to the masses. I contend that the rural masses, both because of their historical past and because of their station in society, were imbued with a set of aspirations that can appropriately be termed an ideology. The sentiments of the peasants reflected those of the intellectuals. But, the cooperative efforts of the peasantry and the intelligentsia, as well as their independent actions, were undermined by the very nature of those mutually-held sentiments. It is in the unique nature of Ukrainian nationalism that we find the fundamental problem that hindered the Ukraine's national self-realization in the years 1917–1921.

Before expounding upon these thoughts, I will examine the birth of Ukrainian nationalism and, for heuristic purposes, compare it to the genesis of nineteenth-century German nationalism. This examination will reveal that Ukrainian na-

tionalism had a dualistic character — it avouched both social reform and state autonomy. When progress towards these dual goals was achieved simultaneously, the nationalist movement surged forward. Often, however, national progress was hampered by the inability to reduce these two objectives into a single course of action.

According to Hans Kohn, "Germany knew hardly any nationalism or political activity before 1806."[1] During the era of the Napoleonic Wars, Germany was engaged in a conflict with France. It was the threat of this foreign power that sparked the emergence of German self-consciousness. Since it originated as a reaction to an alien country, German nationalism was fundamentally xenophobic. Its xenophobia necessitated the repudiation of such ideological systems as liberalism, since they were associated with France. In addition, German nationalism entailed the extolment and the virtual apotheosization of all things Prussian. Common ancestry, language, and custom took on "religious" significance. The most influential spokesman of this nascent jingoism was Ernst Moritz Arndt. In his poetry Arndt laid great importance on honoring one's cultural heritage, the inviolability of ancestral practices, and the necessity of becoming "one with the *volk* and God." Arndt subsumed the issue of individual freedom under the greater cause of patriotic devotion. He thought freedom meant the "right to follow one's ancestors' footsteps without interference from alien influences."[2]

Chronologically antecedent to Arndt, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn was another German patriot who gave poetic expression to Germany's newborn nationalism. Father Jahn, in contrast to a nationalist from a different country — Mazzini of Italy — entertained no notions about the "unity of mankind." He sought only the betterment of the "pure aryan race." Whereas Mazzini thought national independence and individual liberty inseparable, Jahn was not concerned with human rights. He was obsessed, as German nationalism was obsessed, with the furtherance of the "volk."[3] In Jahn's writings, one sees the roots of the anti-humanitarian jingoism that was to dominate twentieth-century Nazi Germany.

There are both similarities and differences between the German nationalism that had its basis in the writings of Arndt and Jahn and the Ukrainian nationalism that had its nineteenth-century foundation in the poetry of Taras Shevchenko. Shevchenko certainly had as significant a role in the Ukrainian "awakening" as Arndt and Jahn had in the birth of German self-consciousness. Virtually all Ukrainian historians attribute much importance to Shevchenko. Shevchenko's writings were similar to those of Arndt and Jahn in that they expressed patriotic esteem for the homeland. They cherished the linguistic peculiarities of their indigenous culture. Arndt thought it was a "tragedy" to cast aside one's native tongue. Similarly, Shevchenko wrote: "What harmony beyond all praise / Our

[1] Hans Kohn, *The Mind of Germany* (New York, 1960), p. 69.
[2] Kohn, *Mind of Germany*, pp. 75–80.
[3] Kohn, *Mind of Germany*, pp. 81–84.

tongue is music from the skies." Shevchenko also glorified the history of the Ukraine. Just as Arndt and Jahn lauded the brave deeds of the ancient Prussians, Shevchenko praised the manly heroics of the Cossacks. The Ukrainian "folk" was sacred to Shevchenko; it was a clan that had descended from the race of daring Cossacks. In a similar way, the German "volk" was valued because of the majestic history of its predecessors.

Shevchenko and the literary progenitors of German nationalism differ in an important respect, however. While Arndt and Jahn ignored the social inequities of their culture, Shevchenko dwelled on them. Shevchenko was a former serf, and a principal theme of his poetry is the balefulness of serfdom and the need for social liberation. Thus, the Ukrainian nationalism that was born in Shevchenko's prophetic literature had a dual nature. It both glorified the homeland and demanded social reform. This dualism was destined to characterize the Ukrainian national movement throughout its history. Arndt's — and later Jahn's — concentrated emphasis on Prussian greatness spawned a national movement that had a singularity of purpose. The idea of nationalism in the Ukraine, by contrast, pointed to two courses of action. The desires for social liberation and national autonomy were not necessarily unharmonious. Certainly, they could coexist within the lone ideal of "freedom." But only at certain points in Ukrainian history did the dichotomous ideational components of Ukrainian nationalism harmoniously merge into the single ideal of freedom. Oftentimes, the two remained separate and in a state of dialectical tension.

Tension between the goals of social reform and nationalism appears early in the history of the Ukraine's political parties. One of the first Ukrainian political groups was the Taras Brotherhood. This secret organization numbered among its objectives national liberation and the removal of social inequities.[4] Later political parties also had these goals, although the emphasis placed on each varied. Mikhnovs'kyi's Ukrainian People's Party posited national autonomy as its primary aim, but it also supported industrial and agrarian reform.[5] The Revolutionary Ukrainian Party laid much stress on social and economic advancement, but placed less emphasis on the goal of independent statehood.[6] Political groups proliferated in the Ukraine during the early years of the twentieth century. Some were moderate and primarily embraced the goal of national independence. Others were radical and chiefly sought social revolution and improvement. All, however, exhibited some concern for both of these two issues, although none effectively merged the two into a single platform to which many supporters could adhere.

The history of the Central Rada provides another example of the conflict between the coexisting ideas of social reform and nationalism. The Central

[4] John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920* (Princeton, N.J., 1952), p. 12.

[5] Reshetar, *Ukrainian Revolution*, p. 17.

[6] Reshetar, *Ukrainian Revolution*, p. 18.

Rada's Universals contained the binary goals of social reform and national independence. The Rada's action toward these goals, however, was stymied. Admittedly, foreign oppression was a great obstacle, but one can see in the government of the Rada no fixity of purpose. The people's welfare was to be bettered, and the state's independence was to be secured, but exactly how to go about these tasks was never certain. One can justifiably attribute much of this confusion to the inexperience of the Rada members and to the intervention of an alien power, but one cannot overlook the fact that these two major objectives were seen as separate entities, not as integral components of an entirety. The factionalization of the Ukrainian political parties over these two issues was, therefore, the presage of later governmental indecision regarding them.

Unanimity, born of the merger of social reform and nationalism, was to arrive during the days of the German occupation. In this period, the dialectic witnessed a synthesis, and this synthesis, in turn, brought concerted national agitation. The repressive measures the Germans employed to collect food from the farming masses of the Ukraine precipitated bloody peasant uprisings. The peasants began to associate national servitude with individual servitude. The presence of an alien oppressor drove home the need to *both* throw off the yoke of foreign control and garner social reforms.

Arthur E. Adams describes the peasant reaction to the German occupation in this way: ". . . the peasants . . . sick of German agrarian policies . . . fought for objectives more elemental and more deeply felt than those embedded in party programs . . . One might say that they fought for their land, for an end to military oppression, for the food that Skoropadskyi's troops tore from the mouths of their families, for the freedom to run their own affairs."[7] The enraged peasants fought with xenophobic passion and a craving for "land" so that their families might survive. Adams further states that this type of nationalism "had little in common with the literary nationalism of the intellectuals."[8] This is not quite true, however. The peasant patriotism represented a fusion of the two ideas the intelligentsia had bandied about and treated as separate. The "jacquerie" could act on its nationalism because it was directed towards a single aim — freedom, freedom from Germany, the Hetmanate, social oppression, and economic strife. With fixity of purpose, the teeming masses drove toward this one goal, just as Taras Shevchenko had quested after "freedom" above all other things.

The contributors to Hunczak's volume often do not view the peasants as the possessors of national aspirations. Unlike the intelligentsia, the masses were moved by the exigencies of their situation, not by ideas or cogent goals. Hence, they were inaccessible to the intellectuals. Ihor Kamenetsky speaks of the Rada's

[7] Arthur Adams, "The Great Ukrainian Jacquerie," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 254.

[8] Arthur Adams, "The Awakening of the Ukraine," in *The Development of the USSR* (Seattle, Wash., 1964), p. 231.

difficulty in awakening the masses to "the idea of national statehood."[9] Yaroslav Bilinsky concurs with Pipes' conclusion that the intellectuals were "too dependent on the politically immature and ineffective rural population."[10] Ivan L. Rudnytsky refers to the inadequate "mass national consciousness" of the peasants.[11] Although Adams notes that the peasants were not devoid of political ideas, he argues that uprisings occurred when the elemental aspects of their material existence were threatened.

Several of the essays depict the masses as a stolid, politically neutral population which, in the face of life-threatening circumstances, exhibited a Pavlovian reaction that was passionate, violent, and misguided. The peasants were not blind to nationalism, however. Although they at times lacked an intelligentsia that could articulate their aspirations, the peasants, who possessed a proud past and who deplored serfdom and social oppression, sought independence for their country and freedom for themselves. It is true that the peasants were difficult to rouse, that they were politically inexperienced, true also that they expressed themselves in violent insurrections. But it is inaccurate to imply that the masses were driven to action only by the pressing needs of their situation, by a need for food and a wish to protect their families. The peasants had an ideology, one that was conditioned by their unique past. The legend of Cossack greatness and the struggle for liberation from serfdom fixed in the peasant psyche the dual goals of social reform and independent statehood.

This dualistic nationalism was a possession of the intelligentsia and the peasants alike. Although they shared the same national aspirations, the two groups were not united. During the revolution, interaction between the two factions of the Ukrainian populace seemed to be in abeyance. The cause of this division is to be found in the years before the revolution. In 1861 and 1876, when the tsarist government prohibited the use of the Ukrainian language both in schools and in written publications, the intellectuals' access to the rural masses was undermined. It was not until 1905 that the prohibition was lifted. This left the intellectuals little time to reach out to the peasants and communicate with them before the outbreak of war and revolution. The absence of a communications link between the intellectuals and the peasants during the latter half of the nineteenth century largely explains their lack of unity during the years 1917–1921. It is the tragedy of the Ukrainian national movement that, although the intelligentsia and the peasants held the same hopes for social liberty and for a free Ukraine, they always pursued their goals not together, but separately. As proof for this supposition one can point to the unity of purpose between the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the

[9] Ihor Kamenetsky, "Hrushevskyi and the Central Rada," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 57.

[10] Yaroslav Bilinsky, "The Communist Take-over of the Ukraine," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 126.

[11] Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Fourth Universal and Its Ideological Antecedents," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921*, p. 205.

Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia during the same revolutionary years. But then, the Galician Ukrainians, unlike the Eastern Ukrainians, had previously experienced the Josephine Enlightenment, early peasant redemption, and unfettered communication in their native language between all social strata since at least the 1860s.

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REVIEWS

Germany and Poland: From War to Peaceful Relations. By *W. W. Kulski.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1976. 336 pp. (paperback)

W. W. Kulski's survey of Polish-German affairs reflects the sturdy assumptions of a traditionalist's approach to the study of international relations. By way of introduction Kulski analyzes the historical legacy of hostility and mistrust that has characterized German-Polish relations for nearly a millennium. He then proceeds to discuss in detail post-World War II relations between West Germany, the Soviet Union, and its East European allies. In this respect the title of Kulski's book is somewhat misleading: rather than being a discussion of postwar German-Polish relations, his book is, in effect, an analysis of West Germany's evolving approach to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Of particular interest is his assessment of the Potsdam negotiations concerning the establishment of Poland's western frontier along the Oder and western Neisse rivers. Kulski says that regardless of the subsequent stand of Western statesmen who maintained that the final "delimitation" and "determination" of Poland's western frontier should await a general peace settlement, the West did, in fact, concede the Oder-Neisse frontier to Poland in 1945. He carefully describes the linkage between the frontier issue and Soviet perceptions of security, pointing out that Stalin saw Poland's new boundaries as an extension of the Soviet Union's frontiers to the west. In Kulski's view, what mattered in 1945 was power, and the Soviet military presence dictated the outcome of the frontier settlement.

Of course, the same logic applied in the Potsdam discussions concerning Poland's eastern frontier. In this particular instance, the newly created, pro-Soviet Polish Government of National Unity felt compelled to accept the Soviet thesis that Soviet annexation of prewar Eastern Poland was legitimate because its population was mostly Ukrainian and Belorussian. Again, the decisive factor was military conquest. In Kulski's view, the territorial settlement was in many respects beneficial to Poland, because the Poles now had "a nationally homogeneous population," in contrast to pre-1939, when over four million Ukrainians and nearly one million Belorussians constituted a substantial minority population within the Polish state.

Kulski's discussion of German policy proper begins with an account of Adenauer's policy of negotiating from a position of strength, which he places squarely within the context of the cold war politics of the 1950s. For the next decade, Kulski analyzes the transitional phase in the Bundesrepublik's foreign policy orientation toward the East by discussing the Erhard-Schroeder policy of "a differentiated approach" toward the various East European countries. He sees this policy as moving away from Adenauer's hard-line position and being more in tune with the international environment of the 1960s. He describes how the policy of differentiation continued with the Great Coalition Government of Kiesinger and Brandt, only to flounder after the Warsaw Pact's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Clearly, the policy of differentiation had alarmed the Soviets and their East German and Polish allies because it threatened to drive a wedge into the Soviets' East European alliance system. The Soviet response led Brandt to the realization that the road to Eastern Europe lay through Moscow, and he quickly set out to pursue this new orientation in his *Ostpolitik*. As Kulski so carefully points out, in Brandt's view the Moscow Treaty "would be the key to unlock all the East European doors" (p. 181).

Brandt's approach was simple and straightforward insofar as it argued that political and military realities dictated a recognition of the territorial status quo. At the same time, the Bundesrepublik did not want to isolate itself as a relic of the cold war at a time when the West — particularly the United States — was seeking détente with the Soviet Union. From the Soviet viewpoint the issues were also clear. What the Moscow Treaty provided was Germany's recognition of the Central European status quo — in brief, an end to Germany's revisionist claims for territorial adjustments. Poland, of course, welcomed this approach because it promised to resolve the issue of Poland's frontiers.

Kulski's treatment of the fine points of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties is comprehensive and excellent. His analysis of the German reservation that the territorial status quo be binding only as long as the Bundesrepublik exists is presented clearly, as is his discussion of Poland's decision to ignore that reservation.

The real focus of debate, however, is the role of Brandt as West Germany's catalyst for the normalization of relations. Here a myriad of interpretations is possible. Whatever Brandt's motives for adjusting West Germany's relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, whatever his intentions in supporting the notion of one German nation divided into two separate but coequal states, whatever his vision of the future European political order, the fact remains that the Moscow and Warsaw treaties represented an acceptance of the postwar status quo in Central Europe. In this respect Brandt's *Ostpolitik* is nothing more than a bold concession to the political realities of the 1970s. I agree with Kulski, whose pro-Polish sympathies are beyond question, that the merits of Brandt's policies should be evaluated primarily on the basis of these considerations. It would appear, then, that Willy Brandt, the conciliator and progressive, learned a very basic lesson from one of his most illustrious predecessors: that the great issues of our day still tend to be decided by "blood and iron."

Kulski ends on a cautiously optimistic note, all the while pointing out that normalization of relations is a far cry from reconciliation. He calls attention to the need for a reform of basic attitudes, for revised textbooks that will portray both sides in a more favorable light, and for an openness in travel, cultural exchange, and mutual appreciation that will best serve the interests of all parties involved. Thus, Kulski the realist sees hope for the future while acknowledging the limitations in what he proposes.

One does wish that Kulski had paid more attention to other aspects of the problem — namely, to the fundamental questions of trade, credits, and investments. He mentions these concerns, but they require much greater analysis and discussion. What exactly do the new markets of Eastern Europe offer West Germany, and how substantial are they? What does the Soviet Union gain in exchange for West European technology, finances, and investments? Nonetheless, his work does provide the political matrix and the indispensable historical framework for further investigation of these vital issues. For this reason, as well as for his own lucid arguments, Kulski's book merits careful reading and attention.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1945–1975. By *Josef Sirka.* European University Papers, Series 16 — Slavonic Languages and Literatures. Peter Lang: Frankfurt-am-Main, 1978. ix, 198 pp. (paperback)

Ukrainian literature in Czechoslovakia is a unique phenomenon. Peculiar historical circumstances have made it a microcosmic model of Ukrainian literature's development in Galicia during the nineteenth century. Since in Czechoslovakia the process was greatly accelerated, however, one can study in a span of twenty-five years a development which in Galicia took almost one hundred. Among its major elements were the awakening and determining of a national consciousness pitting the separatist Ukrainian against the Muscophile Rusyn orientation, the selection of either the Russian or Ukrainian language, and the evolution from didactic folk-*byt* realism to modern psychological introspection. The occurrence of so many changes in such a short span of time brought about an exciting and turbulent, if not always aesthetically even, literary development. A book dedicated to a description of this process should, therefore, be a welcome contribution to literary scholarship.

Sirka's work is the first book on Ukrainian literature in Czechoslovakia to be written in English, and the first to be published outside the Prešov area. However, it is not the only or the best work on the subject. Its precursor, *Literatura čexoslovac'kyx ukrajinciv* (Slovenské Pedagogické Nakladatelstvo: Bratislava, 1968),

edited by Orest Zilyns'kyj, still provides the most satisfactory treatment. To be sure, Sirka attempts a more comprehensive coverage within a structure similar to Zilyns'kyj's (i.e., historical background, followed by a survey of the various genres). Yet, although the new work follows literary development through the neo-repressive years after 1968 — which Zilyns'kyj's could not treat — and although it includes a few more authors — generally younger and minor — it does not stand up to Zilyns'kyj's in analysis, synthesis, or clarity of exposition.

In fact, despite his claim to present a survey of the development of Ukrainian literature in Slovakia, Sirka does nothing of the kind. He provides broad divisions of writers according to age, cites a few analytical comments from Zilyns'kyj, and then proceeds with tedious author-by-author and work-by-work descriptions. Because each genre is dealt with separately, historico-political conditions applicable to all the genres are repeated, as is information about a given author if the author wrote in more than one genre. Whereas Zilyns'kyj's book contains essays about each genre's development and a year-by-year bibliography which provide the reader with a clear picture of the literature's total development, Sirka's study gives him a fragmented view. The emphasis is not on literary development, but on the generational differences between the writers of poetry, drama, and prose, and on the differences between the works of a given author. The synthesis is minimal, and most of that is secondhand.

Besides having such organizational and structural faults, the new study is, alas, incomplete. Although he devotes a section to "Scholarship and National Life," Sirka does not examine this aspect in any depth nor does he give it proper weight in assessing the development of Ukrainian consciousness and literature in Slovakia. Although he quite frequently cites works by Zilyns'kyj, he relegates the famous scholar to a bio-bibliographical footnote. One looks in vain for an acknowledgment of the importance of such scholars as Nevrli and Mol'nar. Although Sirka relates the content of several minor works of prose in detail, he fails to mention (except in a bibliographic notation) the collections published by the Ukrainian museum in Svidník or such important books as Mol'nar's *Slovaky i Ukrajinci* (SPN: Bratislava, 1965) and *Sto pedesát let česko-ukajinských literárnich styků* (Prague: 1968), although both appear in the bibliography. He also fails to discuss the periodical press or literary criticism.

The bibliography, too, leaves much to be desired. Sirka does state that it is a "sharply selective" listing, but that selectivity must be sharply questioned. Is it not strange, for example, that Stepan Hostynjak's poem "Molodohvardijci," published in *Nove žyttja* (1973), is included, but the poet's collection *Virši* (Bratislava, 1972) is omitted? Also, why are only some of the items cited in the footnotes listed in the bibliography? Several article entries lack important data — that is, journal titles (pp. 152, 172, 174, 184); although this is probably simple oversight, it is exasperating in a work of scholarship.

Overall, the book requires much additional proofreading and editing. Among its present annoyances are sloppy footnoting (fn. 38 on p. 20 should be fn. 37; fn. 90 on p. 123 should be fn. 89, and fn. 91 should be fn. 90), inconsistencies leading

to erroneous statements (cf. information in fn. 26, p. 40, with that in fn. 32, p. 42), inconsistencies between intent and execution (a statement that authors will not be discussed individually appears on p. 91, but four authors are discussed at length on pp. 93–107).

Should these and other minor deficiencies be corrected and the work be reorganized and re-edited, it could warrant publication in an edition substantially larger than the present one of 200. As it stands now, however, the existing copies suffice for specialists in the field. For although the present edition is informative, it is too flawed to be recommended to anyone who is not already thoroughly familiar with the topic.

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ETHNIC LITERATURES SINCE 1776: THE MANY VOICES OF AMERICA. Edited by *Wolodymyr T. Zyla* and *Wendell M. Aycock* 2 vols. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech Press, 1978. 641 pp. (paperback)

Of the many publications which appeared to commemorate America's bicentennial, this two-volume edition of ethnic literary traditions in the United States is, from the perspective of the ethnic researcher, one of the most welcome. It contains the proceedings of a comparative literature symposium which was held 27–31 January 1976, under the sponsorship of Texas Tech University. Both the symposium and the subsequent publication represent a valuable contribution to a sorely neglected area of ethnic investigation and evaluation. The door has now been opened to a rich repository of data which begs to be translated and shared with America's reading public. True, one can get a sense of the ethnic experience in the United States by reading each immigrant group's history. A full appreciation and understanding of the immigrant soul, however, requires a familiarity with the unadorned and deeply felt emotions which can only be found in each group's poetry and narrative. For their efforts to probe this dimension of our nation's history, Drs. Wolodymyr T. Zyla and Wendell M. Aycock, the organizers of the symposium and the editors of the publication, deserve commendation.

This publication offers still another reason for rejoicing, especially among those who feel that some American ethnic groups have received little attention during the ethnic research renaissance of the 1970s. Most publications during this era have tended to emphasize the experiences of the traditional minorities — Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, and Orientals. Some have focused on the better known European immigrant groups — the French, Germans, Irish, Italians, Jews, and Poles. Few have considered America's smaller ethnic groups, especially those from Eastern Europe. Given its location and the precedent that had been set, one would have expected the Texas Tech symposium to follow a similar course. It did

not. The symposium dealt with the minorities as well as the larger, more well studied groups. Notably, however, it also included such seldom researched American ethnic groups as the Armenians, Croatians, Czechs, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Flemish, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, Russians, Serbians, Slovenians, and Rusyn- (or Ruthenian-) Ukrainians.

Anyone interested in the ethno-national ideological streams which emerged in the Ukrainian-Rusyn community prior to World War I would be well advised to read Dr. Paul R. Magocsi's well-written treatise on Rusyn American literature. The Rusyns, writes Dr. Magocsi, "underwent a specific development and have traditionally remained separate from the rest of the Ukrainian American community." Thus, despite repeated efforts to "Ukrainianize" their Subcarpathian brethren, the more nationalistic Galician Rusyns failed, both in the Ukraine and in the United States, to create a single ethno-national orientation for all Rusyns. During World War I this failure led to the temporary estrangement of the Carpatho-Ukraine from the rest of the Ukraine. In America a more permanent division was effected when the Holy See decided to appoint two Catholic bishops, thereby establishing two eparchies — one for the Rusyn-Ruthenians and one for the Ukrainians.

Rusyn American belles-lettres were, as Dr. Magocsi points out, "at best an amateur enterprise." Composed either by immigrants who were semi-literate or by Magyarized Rusyn clergymen who were "often not capable of expressing themselves in any standardized Slavic language," Rusyn American literature was "lexically and morphologically based on dialects of the Subcarpathian region." While this may present a problem to the student of ethnic literature, it is a boon for the student of ethnic history. It is precisely because, as one Rusyn writer readily admitted, "I know well that I am not a writer. Not my ability but rather love for my people urged me to do what I did," and, because, as Magocsi points out, "Rusyn American literature is one of the few places where the older spoken forms have been preserved," that the early writings of immigrant Rusyns offer such a wealth of raw primary data for the ethnic historian. Thematically, most early Rusyn American literature concentrated on the subjects of nation and religion, life in America, and "old country" nostalgia, which renders it especially significant for those interested in getting an intimate glimpse into the early immigrant soul. Aesthetics and literary impact aside, one can only hope that Magocsi's treatise will generate more interest in Rusyn American literature.

In contrast to Magocsi's presentation, which is devoted entirely to the pre-World War II period — an approach necessitated, no doubt, by present historical realities in both the Ukraine and America — Dr. Dmytro Shtohryn's contribution on Ukrainian American literature focuses on the literary achievements of post-war immigrants. "There was no coordination of Ukrainian literary activities in the United States," states Dr. Shtohryn, "until the 1950s." Tracing the beginnings of Ukrainian American writing to the newspaper *Svoboda* and mentioning such luminaries as Frs. Gregory Hrushka, Nestor Dmytriw, Paul Tymkevych, and

Stephen Makar — members of a group of Galician Ukrainian priests whom Julian Bachynsky dubbed "The American Circle" — Shtohryn concludes that the "significance of these works was rather more social than literary." Commenting on such authors as Matthew Kostyshyn, Stephen Musiychuk, and Alexander Granovsky, Shtohryn writes that, with the exception of Granovsky and possibly Musiychuk, they produced literature that was "written in order to meet the need of particular days, but not the need of the ages." This statement may be true. *Svoboda*'s early contributors were struggling to establish a Ukrainian ethnonational tradition in America. Musiychuk, an active member of *Sich*, and Granovsky, long the national president of ODWU, did attempt to perpetuate that heritage in many of their writings. If ones uses belles lettres as the criterion for "literary activities," then Dr. Shtohryn's contention that there was no coordination prior to the arrival of the last immigration may be correct. If, on the other hand, one wishes to view literary activities in its broadest sense, that is, as including all writings — social commentary as well as exhortations — then one can argue that a definite Ukrainian literary tradition existed in America prior to 1950 and that it was at least partially coordinated, first by *Svoboda* and later by such other periodicals as *Sich, Ukraina,* and even *Shchodenni visti,* the Ukrainian Communist daily. Personally, I believe that it would have been preferable for Dr. Shtohryn to adopt a broader definition of literature — one that included the entire body of writings of a particular period — and then to have distinguished between literature with a socio-political content and that with more universal value.

It is in commenting on the post-World War II period that Dr. Shtohryn excels. The many Ukrainian writers who arrived on American shores after 1950 were unquestionably far more proficient in their craft than most of their predecessors. Many were established authors in the Ukraine and were, as Dr. Shtohryn points out, "influential not only in the development of modern Ukrainian literature but of European and American literature as well." The somewhat spontaneous emergence of a younger literary assemblage known as the New York Group is an exciting phenomenon which augurs well for the future development of a Ukrainian American literary tradition unencumbered by socio-political considerations. A professor of library science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Dr. Shtohryn has played an important role in that institution's acquisition of an outstanding Ukrainian language collection. Given the tremendous need for more information about Ukrainian American writers, let us hope that Dr. Shtohryn's contribution to the symposium at Texas Tech is only the beginning of an endeavor that will be substantially expanded in the future.

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RUSSIAN LITERARY CRITICISM: A SHORT HISTORY. By *R. H. Stacy.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1974. 267 pp. (paperback)

In the introduction to this book, R. H. Stacy writes that it is intended to be an introductory survey for readers who do not know Russian. Indeed, Stacy has perceived and answered a real need in literary study, for there is no other work in English, or in any modern West European language, that focuses on Russian literary criticism. René Wellek's *A History of Modern Criticism: 1750–1950* includes much material on the subject, but because its scope is so broad many Russian figures are either omitted or mentioned in passing.

Stacy's work may be useful in undergraduate programs in Slavic languages and literatures, in which students are generally insufficiently proficient in Russian to read and critically evaluate the various Soviet surveys on the topic. It may also appeal to the general reader, provided he has some acquaintance with Russian history; for although Stacy calls his work an "introductory survey," he presumes a fair amount of background knowledge. He devotes many pages to various interpretations and evaluations of Tolstoi and Dostoevskii as well as of less famous writers, and these remarks will make little sense to anyone without some familiarity with Russian poetry and prose. The occasional terms and quotations in German, Latin, French, and Greek will present another obstacle to some readers.

The breezy, informal, even chatty style of much of this work differentiates it from the standard college text, and it would be erroneous to give the impression that it is an "academic" book. Especially unorthodox are Stacy's speculations about what a particular critic, such as Gorkii or Tolstoi, would say about the current state of literary affairs in the USSR. In general, the tone is reminiscent of the highly readable, although idiosyncratic, *History of Russian Literature* by D. S. Mirsky. Stacy's organization, like Mirsky's, follows primarily biographical rather than thematic lines and he, like Mirsky, is not reluctant to offer his personal judgments of the critics whom he discusses. Stacy is evidently well disposed to Mirsky's work, since he cites it to substantiate his own theories at least twenty-five times and speaks approvingly of its "sparkling prose style and elegant wit." Regrettably, Stacy also shares Mirsky's tendency to write as if his subject were already a closed book; he does not direct the reader's attention to lacunae in the existing scholarship on Russian literary criticism and he rarely points to fields which deserve further study. For instance, his discussion of the critics Veselovskii and Bakhtin does not indicate how much explication of their methodology is still needed. For some reason, Stacy does not mention the interesting possibility that Bakhtin might have written under the pseudonyms of, or in close collaboration with, Pavel Medvedev and V. N. Voloshinov. His omission of Lotman and Soviet semiotics is also curious; although Stacy is undoubtedly justified in stating that the movement is complex and requires separate treatment, he might well have provided a brief description of it. Semiotics' appearance and development in

Moscow and Tartu in particular should be made better known to Americans who are interested both in literary criticism and in Soviet studies.

Stacy does make suggestions for further reading in English and these may prove quite useful to the undergraduate. However, he fails to provide footnotes to the Russian texts and he sometimes neglects to give the title of the work which he is summarizing, especially if it has not been translated into English. While footnotes giving Russian titles might reduce the appeal of a book intended for a mass audience, their absence makes the book rather frustrating to the serious reader who knows Russian. He must guess which work Stacy is referring to and cannot easily check or follow up on many of Stacy's remarks.

But these are relatively trivial flaws. More serious problems are the scant attention paid to historical context and the tendency to judge past literary criticism by today's standards. Stacy's comment on Vyacheslav Ivanov is one of many passages in which the author takes a critic to task: "It is, for instance, irritating and distasteful to find seriously considered in this erudite and 'European' critic a theme — or rather a perversity — that has appeared again and again in Russian thought from its earliest times: the light-bringing destiny of Russia" (p. 129). Rather than condemn Ivanov for not living up to modern standards, we should see his ideas as a significant part of intellectual history. In order to do so, we must have a good knowledge of the European currents of thought which influenced Russian critics. Stacy, who is clearly well read and in command of this field, does not share his learning with us. His book lacks a trenchant examination of the themes of European Romanticism — for instance, the belief in genius, the search for origins or beginnings, and the assertion that there are innate national characteristics. Although he mentions such ideas in passing, Stacy rarely explores them in any depth, perhaps because he was hampered by the book's biographical organization. However, he does develop the idea that Russian literary criticism, more than the literary criticism of many other peoples, stresses the social responsibility of art, and he effectively demonstrates that this orientation gives continuity to much of Russian criticism from the eighteenth century to the present. Yet Stacy sometimes depicts such recurring tendencies as aspects of the Russian national character ("the Russians, who are romantic often to a distressing degree . . ."), a heritage from the nineteenth century which is probably best avoided.

Given Stacy's emphasis on contemporary relevance it is not surprising that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treatises by Ukrainians at the academies of Kiev and Moscow receive little notice. Stacy mentions their influence on Lomonosov, but he is not particularly sympathetic to the latter, asserting "Lomonosov the critic has little to say to us in the West today" (p. 20). The Ukraine plays an exceedingly small role in Stacy's history, although he does note that Belinskii's hostility to Ševčenko can be attributed, in part, to his Great Russian chauvinism, and that Grigoriev recognized the significance of Gogol's Ukrainian background.

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